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FRENCH ELEMENTS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

*Chapters Illustrative of the Origin and Growth of Romance
Influence on the Phrasal Power of Standard
English in its Formative Period*

BY

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*þat we ne beh alle of one þende,
Ne i-boren in one londe,
Ne one speche understande.*

ROBERT GROSSETESTE, Castel of Love.

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CHAPTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE ORIGIN AND
GROWTH OF ROMANCE INFLUENCE ON THE
PHRASAL POWER OF STANDARD ENGLISH IN
ITS FORMATIVE PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

GUSTAV KÖRTING, writing in 1888¹, expressed very truly—and his statement still holds—the imperfect nature of our knowledge of the relations of the French language to the English during the formative period that preceded the establishment of Standard English. ‘Die Frage,’ he says, ‘nach der Art und dem Umfange des von dem Französischen auf das Angelsächsische ausgetübten Einflusses ist weit verwickelter, als es auf den ersten Blick scheinen mag, und zur Zeit wenigstens dürfte sie mit irgend welcher wissenschaftlichen Genauigkeit gar nicht zu beantworten sein.’ Certain phases of the subject, it must be admitted, have been treated with scientific exactness. In the sphere of phonology we have the exposition of the phonology of the French elements in MidE. in the treatises of Sturmels² and Behrens³, to mention only the most important. But on a subject closely allied with the phonology of loan-words in English, the influence of French upon the phonology of native words, we lack a definitive treatment. That this influence operated in word-stress is certain. Note, too, for example, that AS. *nemnan* appears in MidE. not only as *nennen*, but

¹ ‘Encyklopädie und Methodologie der Englischen Philologie,’ p. 74. Heilbronn, 1888.

² ‘Der Altfranz. Vokalismus im Mittelengl. bis zum Jahre 1400.’ *Anglia*, viii. 201 ff.

³ ‘Beiträge zur Geschichte der Französischen Sprache in England.’ *Franz. Studien*, V. ii.

nempnen: theos meiden . . . wes iuliane inempnet, *Jul.*, 4; *theochinus* inempnet, *St. Marh.*, 1. Seth he let his name *nempne*, *Holy Rode* (Ashm.), 29. Similarly AS. *samnian* appears not only as *samn(i)en*, but also *sampnen*: sompnin, *Marh.*, 15 (S-B); Wold he so sone sampne his host, R. B., *Chron.*, 4978. The abundant instances of m p n in similar position in OFr. point to the source of this consonantal group; cf. *dampner* (< *damnare*), *dampne-dee* (< *domine-deus*), *solempne* (< *solemnem*). The character and extent of such influence, then, call for definition. In orthography, while we have the rough outline of the making over of our orthography in conformity with French orthography, and have many interesting details afforded us¹, we are again without full and precise account of the process and its subsequent effects, though the history of words like *corpse* (e.g. OFr. *cors* > MidE. *cors*; Fr. *corps* > E. *corps(e)*) makes one suspect the prevalence of a somewhat extensive influence. The problem of the introduction of French words into MidE. has received most attention; witness the word-lists of Morris², W. W. Skeat, Miss Skeat³, Behrens, and Sturmfels, and, for individual works, of Einenkel⁴, Fritzsche⁵, and others. But, while we have the lists of words, we have no systematic study of the semasiology of those words. Were the fine discriminations of the foreign language preserved? If so, what a testimony to the intimacy of the English speaker with the language drawn upon! If, for example, the MidE. *air* in its various uses and shades of meaning closely corresponds to OFr. *air* in its uses and shades of meaning—which indeed it does—and if this conformity in meaning and use is sustained by a similar correspondence among the loan-words generally, we have a revelation of the subtle and far-reaching interfusion of the French and English spirit in the MidE. period. Again, how far can the French words taken into MidE. be regarded as essential to the expression of new ideas and manners consequent on a new order of civilization⁶? At times they were essential; witness the OFr.

¹ Cf. Skeat, 'Principles of English Etymology,' i. 302 ff.

² 'Historical Outlines of English Accidence,' Append. III.

³ 'Word-list illustrating the correspondence of Mod. Eng. with Anglo-French Vowel Sounds,' *Dialect Soc.*, 1884; *Tr. Phil. Soc.*, Append. IV. 1884 (also W. W. Skeat, *Phil. Soc.*, 1882, 1888-90).

⁴ 'Ueber die Verfasser einiger neuangelsächsischen Schriften,' 48, 49, 93; *Anglia*, v. 91 ff.

⁵ *Anglia*, v. 82.

⁶ Paul, 'Grundriss der germanischen Philologie,' i. 812.

titles of address which we adopted. Again, to what extent did the foreign vocabulary change or restrict the meaning of native words? Here, indeed, was a wide realm of change. Take, as examples, AS. *þing*, as influenced by *cause*, *affaire*, *matière*; AS. *sum* as restricted in part by *certain*; AS. *prician*, *priccan*, to prick, as compared with its meaning in, 'Of pricking and of hunting for the hare,' Ch., *Prol. C. T.*, 191, manifestly imitating OFr. *poindre*, prick, gallop, put spurs to: Mais Aiols point, *Aiol*, 3103. De quel maniere a els puindrunt, M. de France, *Eli*, 207.

Nor can any one yet adequately define the part French played in the rapid changes that came upon AS. in the years immediately following the Conquest with respect to the loss or retention of inflexions and the settlement of grammatical relations and of the word order in phrase and sentence. We still quarrel over elementary questions like s-plurals¹. Something of course has been gained by special monographs in the realm of syntax: the influence of the French present participle absolute on the corresponding form in MidE.²; the influence of French on the MidE. relative 'þe which'³, &c. Mätzner, in his 'Englische Grammatik,' naturally noted the correspondences of OFr. and MidE. especially in the case of grammatical similarities such as the government of verbs. Einenkel⁴, too, shows a very keen sense for the recognition of French influence in MidE. syntax. Unfortunately his volume has special reference to the language of Chaucer. Dealing chiefly with the language at a time when most of its characteristics had passed their stage of growth and had become fixed in nature, Einenkel was not concerned with the historical view of his subject and offers us little beyond interesting examples and parallels. Of greater importance is his review of MidE. syntax⁵, which, though limited in scope, lays the first foundation of scientific knowledge in the department of which it treats. Kellner⁶, likewise, is advancing and co-ordinating our knowledge of OFr. influence, and his future work will, without doubt, make important contributions to the history of English syntax.

¹ *Academy*, 1893, Nov. 11, Dec. 9, 30; 1894, Jan. 13, 20, 27, Feb. 3.

² 'The Absolute Participle in Middle and Modern English,' by C. H. Ross. Baltimore, 1893.

³ 'Das Altenglische Relativpronomen,' von August Schrader, p. 23. Kiel, 1880.

⁴ 'Streifzüge durch die M.E. Syntax.' Münster, 1887.

⁵ 'Paul's Grundriss,' i. 907 ff.

⁶ 'Historical Outlines of English Syntax.' London, 1892.

Lacking, then, the definitive works in many aspects of the problem of French influence in MidE., we can easily see how defective and misleading the books of Thommerel¹, Dickmann², &c., are in professing to give an account of the rise of the English language. Morsbach's work on the origin of the new English literary language³ has a most inviting title and a most disappointing content. Granting that the language of the earliest English documents of London is in substantial agreement with the language of Chaucer, when 'language' is restricted to a basis of vowels, consonants, and inflexions, how much further are we towards understanding the rise of that new English literary language, which was marked not merely by peculiarities of phonology and morphology, but by most extensive changes in phraseology, idiom, syntax?

Impossible as it is yet to write the history of the rise of Standard English, we are at least able to discern the truth in some particulars of that history. No statement, indeed, concerning French influence in MidE. could be more false, however generally held, than that which Körting makes, to go back to the work first quoted, when he says: 'Nur im Wortschatz ist das Englische halbfranzösisirt, im Uebrigen ist es germanisch geblieben, und wo es dennoch dem Französischen ähnlich geworden zu sein scheint (wie z. B. in der Gleichförmigkeit der substantivischen Pluralbildung, in der Comparationsumschreibung, etc.), ist dies nicht die Folge einer Angleichung an das Französische, sondern erklärt sich durchaus befriedigend aus den der Sprache von jeher eigenen Entwickelungsneigungen'⁴.

There is reason to believe that the close and continued influence of one language on another, either in its colloquial or its literary form, will always affect the latter in ways more subtle than the mere borrowing of words. Latin constructions are a factor always to be considered in every AS. translation from the Latin. Latin itself borrowed many idioms and constructions from Greek. The Stanford Dictionary⁵, 'devoted to the meaning and history of the

¹ 'Recherches sur la Fusion du Franco-Normand et de l'Anglo-Saxon.' Paris, 1841.

² 'A Treatise on the Origin and Development of the English Language.' Göttingen, 1870.

³ 'Über den Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache,' von Dr. Lorenz Morsbach. Heilbronn, 1888.

⁴ 'Encyklopädie und Methodologie,' p. 78 f.

⁵ 'The Stanford Dictionary of Anglicised Words and Phrases,' by C. A. M. Fennell. Cambridge, 1892.

foreign words and phrases which occur so frequently in English literature,' is a vast storehouse of illustrations of the extent to which, in modern times, English speakers and writers have availed themselves of the phrasal resources of other languages. Every reader of MidE. and OFr. romances must be struck with their most extensive agreements—not merely in the conception of manners and life, in their general literary form—not in vocabulary alone, but in more subtle modes of expression, in the idioms used, in the turn of the phrases employed. The present dissertation aims to show that Middle English became, not only in its vocabulary, but in its phrasal forms, 'halbfranzösisch'; that its phrasal power is indeed pre-eminently Romance in character. It follows after those treatises of the French loan-words in the vocabulary of MidE. which we owe, as already stated, to Morris, the Skeats, Behrens, Sturmfels, Einenkel, Fritzsché, and others, seeking to establish a higher and more subtle romanization of our speech than that of its vocabulary.

The truth is that Middle English underwent a romanization of its phrasal power more extensive than, and virtually as early as, the romanization of its vocabulary. Professor Earle gives us a wrong point of view in his striking picture of the new English when he says: 'If we want to describe the transition from the Saxon state-language of the eleventh century to the Court-English of the fourteenth, . . . it comes in fact just to this--That a French family settled in England, and edited the English language'.¹ It would be a truer figure to say that the homely English family went to school to French masters, assimilated the modes of thought and forms of expression of a new civilization, and then, and by reason of that assimilated culture, made good its right, even as an English family, to enter into the literary and social life of the new times. The object of the present study is to show how, to what extent, and at what time the English language schooled itself to new phrasal expressions, which were often without equivalents in AS., but which sometimes displaced equivalent AS. expressions; to show how far those phrasal changes proceeded under the influence of OFr.—a natural outcome of the relation of English, in its formative period, to French, in social life, in education, and in legal, ecclesiastical, military, and literary affairs; to show the chrono-

¹ 'The Philology of the English Tongue,' p. 96 (5th ed.).

logical movement of those phrasal changes so as to establish a comparison with the movement of change in the vocabulary; to draw from any ascertained results some conclusions respecting the character and chronology of the formation of Standard English.

The chapters here published are significant parts of a wider survey of the field of work; they will be found, it is hoped, characteristic of various important aspects of phrasal influence, and sufficiently detailed to warrant the conclusions drawn. The citations, with but a very few exceptions, are taken from the literature preceding 1400, by which time Standard English had been evolved and established. Of the works of reference obligations are acknowledged in especial to Bosworth-Toller, 'Anglo-Saxon Dictionary' (B-T); James A. H. Murray, 'New English Dictionary' (NED); Stratmann-Bradley, 'Middle-English Dictionary' (S-B); Godefroy, 'Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française' (God.); La Curne, 'Dictionnaire historique de l'ancienne langue française' (La C.); Littré, 'Dictionnaire de la langue française' (L.).

I. VERBAL PHRASES

THE change of a language from a synthetic to an analytic base, necessitating the growth of phrasal forms for inflexions and conjugations, favours analogically the phrasal expression of verbal notions; e.g. *miserari*, *avoir pitié*. MidE. saw a profuse growth of verbal phrases overrun the language, which at times choked out the scanty verbal phrases of AS. origin. Two chapters are here presented illustrative of this phrasal growth in verbal constructions: (i.) AS. beran, MidE. beren; (ii.) AS. niman, MidE. nimen, taken.

I. BERAN, BEREN, BEAR.

AS. BERAN signified (see B-T.): i. (1) bear, carry; (2) bear up, over; (3) bear away; (4) bear on one (of weapons, &c.); (5) wear on body; (6) sustain weight of; (7) tolerate; (8) march (?), lead (?), *El.*, 45. ii. bring forth (1) of plants; (2) of mammalia. The various compounds of beran show no marked distinctions in meaning other than those conveyed by the compounded particle. This verb appears to lack, like its compounds, all traces of phrasal use other than in the epic phrases, as *Gewitað forð beran | wæpen ond gewédu, ic éow wfsige, Beo.*, 291 = 'march forward.'

MIDDLE-ENGLISH BEAR. The various senses of AS. beran were preserved, with the exception of i. 8. i. (1) was extended to 'immaterial objects', as 'to beren ure louerd ihesu crist on heorte,' *Trin. Coll. Hom.*, 47 (NED). i. (6) was extended to figurative use, 'bear sway,' [He] scholde haue Ibore the heritage, *Beket*, 2409 (NED); ii. (1) was extended to the earth (fig.) bearing minerals or vegetable productions. A very characteristic sense, very late, is of 'thrusting through' (of weapons). Fresh senses of bear are very numerous (see NED).

We are concerned here however chiefly with the phrasal uses of bear, which illustrate important differences of AS. and MidE. syntax.

PHRASAL USES OF BEREN RESP. OFR. PORTER. bear witness (NED, 2 c): Barr wittness to þe follic, *Orm.*, 18268. Ne ber þou witnes, *C. M.*, 6478. Als þe boke beres wytnesse, R. R. H., *Pr. of C.*, 51. Als þe buk says and bers witnes, R. R. H., *Pr. of C.*, 585; *A. R.*, 236; *A. and M.*, 1285; R. R. H., *Lam.*, 85; *A. E. L.*, *St. Paula*, 72; *V. and V.*, 59, 16; 97, 19; 141, 5. þou sall noghte bere false wytnes, R. R. H., *P. T.*, p. 11.

¹ Cf., Kar je portal en mun sein tutes les iniquitez, *Ps.* lxxxviii. 51 = portavi in sinu.

OFr. offers earlier types of this phrase. Testemuine m'en poent cil de Fescamp porter, Wace, *Rou*, 1356. E bien li porterent tesmoing cil qui là furent, Villeh., 179. Porter tesmoign de bone vie, *R. Rose*, i. 273.

The AS. equivalents are: Ne béo þu on liesre gewitnysse ongén þinne nēstan, Gr., *Ex.*, 20, 16 = *non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium*. Lease sibbe ne sceal mon syllan, *B. R.*, p. 17, l. 7. Swá swá eall min mægð me is to witar, *Æ. Lives*, viii. 42.

bear the flower, biome (NED, 3 b): Of alle knyghtes he bar þe biome, R. B., *Ch.*, 4166. And wikked men wiþ honoure | Schul her beo maistres and bere þe floure, *A. E. L.*, *St. Aug.*, 1019; *Pol. P.*, i. 216; Ch., *Monkes T.*, 107; *Torrent of P.*, 2491.

OFr. offers earlier types of this phrase. De cortoise et d'onor, | Portoit Engletere la flor, Wace, *Brut*, 10775. Bien en porte la flor | Ma dame cui j'aor, *R. u. P.*, i. 60, 64. Certes, dame, ne m'en chaut pas, | Que ge en ai porte la flor, *ib.*, i. 69, 47.

bear the prize: Ðat a tre . . . Ðat ouer alle oðre bered pris, *G. and Ex.*, 325. Of manhod he bar þe pris, R. B., *Ch.*, 4172. And of beðte bar þe prys, R. B., *Ch.*, 6180; *Oct.*, 398 (SE.); *Ip.*, 155.

OFr. affords the model of this phrase. De tutes les terres de la | porta le pris e la valur, M. de Fr., *Mil.*, 330.

Through the association of los and prize as a stock phrase of the Romance poets as in:—Por los et pris d'armes conquerre, *Fl. and Lir.*, 1184. K'en totes terres ou entra(n)st | Le los & le pris [en] portast, *Ipom.*, 131, 1151, 1588—we get:

bear the los: Of all the sennes tha thar beth, | Thos bereth þat los, Wm. of Sh., 115. Of alle oure beleue she bare þe los, R. B., *Hand. S.*, 868. Ðat ich day sir Arthour | þe los he bar & þe honour, *A. and M.*, 2983.

Le los & le pris [en] portast, *Ipom.*, 131. Ceste porte la seignorie | E l'excellence e la maistrie, *Ch. d. N.*, 15130 (cf. Ch., *Prol. C. T.*, 165).

According to NED a bell was sometimes given as a prize at tournaments, early proof of which is not adduced; OFr. *clocheteur* (God., ix. 112) and even 'bell-wether' suggest a different origin.

bear the bell: Off bounte bereth the bell, *Ip.*, 4782; 5893. And, let se which of you shal bere the belle | To speke of love aright, Ch., *Troil.*, iii. 149. The phrase appears still later as 'win þe gre,' *Sir Egl.*, 11.

bear the face, &c. (NED, 3 c): Towarde a foreste I bere the face, *Pearl*, 6, 7.

Cf., Tornés ount le vis, Pierre de L., ii. 150. Ne vus ni il n'i porterez les piez, *Ch. de R.*, 260. Porter le pié, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 13738.

A parallel idiom is, & bar þe breste on þe by-fore, R. B., *Ch.*, 4665.

bear fellowship, company (NED, 3 d, 1): Alle þai felauschip bare, *C. M.*, 12568. And I with yow, to bere yow companye, *Ch.*, *L. G. W., Ariad.*, 173. If eni so wod were, | That Seint Thomas consaillede and cumpaignye bere, *Beket*, 990 (NED); *R. B., Ch.*, 73.

OFr. offers: Com je vous ai porté mauvaise compaignie, *Berte*, 2182. De porter fei et conpaignie, *Troie*, 5847, &c.

bear (an, on) in hand (NED, 3 e): We wolleth the bere an hond: that the ert his traitour, *Beket*, 999. [= maintain an assertion against] (NED): Ye bere me wrong on honde, *C. M.*, 15922 (Trin.). Bereth hir an hand that sche hath done this thing, *Ch.*, *M. of L. T.*, 522. Tithandis . . . that bare on hand, How . . ., *Bruce*, xvii. 82.

The NED looks upon all these as an English imitation of Fr. *maintenir*, Med L. *manūtenēre*. This foreign influence is borne out by the phrase 'bear on hand' = carry on, maintain, which seems to point to 'tenir sur main' = *maintenir*: Il n'est possible de tenir trois guerres sur main, *Litt. de Louis XII*, t. iv, p. 14 (in La C., *main*).

bear oneself, deport oneself, behave (NED, 4): Hu me schal beren him wiðuten, *A. R.*, 4. Þe god quene gaf him in conseile, | To luf his folk bituene . . . | Bere him till his barons, *R. B.*, *Ch.*, 98. Which of yow that bereð him best of alle, *Ch.*, *C. T. Prol.*, 798; *K. T.*, 589. Swa apertly aind weille thame bar, *Bruce*, xiv. 77.

The OFr. construction is similar. Que cis las dolereus Guillaumes, | Qui si bien s'est vers moi portés, *Fl. et Bl.*, 10695 (L.).

bear arms, in technical sense of 'be of age' (NED, 6¹) (special sense): ȝif ich euer armes bere | And be of elde, *B. of H.*, 314. Al þat miȝt armes bere, *Roul. and Vern.*, 80.

OFr. has early examples of this phrase. Et dès qu'il pot armes porter, *Brut*, 2265.

The AS. expressions of this idea are: ȝæra þe to gefeohte faran mihton, Gr., *Num.*, i. 45. Ȥæt he woroldwæpno wæg, *Bl. Hom.*, 213. Toðæm Ȥæt he sceolde woroldlicum wæpnum onfon, *Bl. Hom.*, 213.

bear the crown = rule: Alle haleȝ and his croun bere | Wele, and in pees with-outen were, *Pr. of C.*, 408.

OFr. examples: De tote Espaigne corone d'or portant, *Alesc.*, 7824. Qui d'or corone en cief portast, *Brut*, 2332; *Ch. d. N.*, 21921.

bear likeness, visage, form (NED, 7): Bot of his liknes þat he bar, *C. M.*, 18823 [NED]. Which bereth visage of mannes kinde, Gower, *Confessio Aman.*, i. 339 (NED).

In OFr.: Figure porte de diable, *Brut*, 757; 8502.

¹ In later MidE. 'bear,' to have in one's arms [heraldic], is = OFr. *porter*.

'He bare of Aser, a schyp of golde,' *Sir Egl.*, 1186.

'A cinq labiaus de queules l'ainsnés fils le porta,' *Berte*, 3222.

bear name (NED, 7 b): After which planete the day berith his name, Ch., *Astrol.*, ii. §§ 12, 23.

OFr.: Le nom à son oncle porta, *Brut*, 113.

bear (with feelings, = harbour, entertain) (NED, 9); **bear faith**, &c. (NED, 9): Sall ðu noyst ðe riȝt-wise weren, | Or for hem ðe toðere með beren, *G. ar. Ex.*, 1044. Pat he sholden him god feyth bere, *Hav.*, 285. Until his broþor nith (var. read. ire) he bare, *C. M.*, 1069 (NED). Ye ber him right nan aw (var. r. awe), *ib.*, 12096 (NED). Bereð hire menske, *A. R.*, 140. To Beues a bar gret envie, *Bev. of H.*, 839. Þet bereth 'onge wreþe ayens opren, *Ayenb.*, 8. To beran nið ne onde to nane cristene monne, *O. E. H.*, 125. For ðare gode trewðe ðe ðu him bere, *V. and V.*, 103, 31. And to all cristenei men | beren pais and luve bi-twēn, *G. and Ex.*, 7.

OFr. has a rich variety in equivalent phrases: Co dist Rollanz: 'Pur quei me portez ire ?' *Ch. de R.*, 1722; *Tris.*, i. 29. Dont me déüst porter rancune, *Renart*, 406; also *R. Rose*, 1245. Si com tu sez que je t'ai foi portée, *Alesc.*, 2284. Quant à Deu ne portames foi, *Adam*, p. 31; also *Troie*, 1420; *Mort Garin*, 1789; M. de Fr., *Elî*, 84; *Eneas*, 3318; *Fab.*, iii. 73. Fei li porterent e honur, *A. et A.*, 32; *A. N. Ch.*, 228. Et foy et honnor se porterent, *Fab.*, i. 319; *R. Rose*, 1032; *G. de P.*, 783; Machault, p. 117. A qui nos portum fei e amor, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 8209; 17327; 29834. Ne m'en deit porter maltalement, | Corroz ne ire longuement, *E. as*, 9969. Si que Deus ne t'en port haïne, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 14837. Li porterent mult grant envie, *ib.*, ii. 22554. Ains li porterai loiaultei, *R. u. P.*, i. 70, 40. Que l'en doies porter homage, Wace, *Brut*, 2399. Ki ne porte a hume ne fei ne amistie, *Rou*, ii. 3479. Feuté | A porter mais à son aë, *Brut*, 6078. Que pais et foi li porterons, *ib.*, 13547. 'Porter la foi et homage' was the oath of the vassal to his lord, Du Cange (*homagium*).

In AS. simple verbs represented many of these notions: Ne tyn þu þine néahgebúras, Gr., *Lev.*, xix. 18. The Authorized Version 'bear a grudge' = MidE. beren nið = OFr. porter ire, rancune. Note: 'bear company' was expressed by geþeodrædene niman wið (associate with, B-T): Gif hwylc bróðor . . . gedyrstlæcð, þæt he on æniȝe wisan æniȝe ȝeþeodrædene nime wið þone amansumandan, *B. R.*, 50, 10.

CHRONOLOGY. Bear, in phrasal use, is not in evidence before 1200; 1200-1250, bear witness, *Orm.*; bear oneself, *A. R.*; about 1250, *G. and Ex.* shows bear the prize, and begins the use of bear with feelings; 1250-1300, bear faith, *Hav.*; 1300-1350, bear the los, Wm. of Sh.; bear the flower, R. B., *Ch.*; bear company, *C. M.*; bear arms, *B. of H.*; bear likeness, *C. M.*; bear in (on) hand, *Beket*, *C. M.*; 1350-1400, bear the face, *Pearl*; bear name,

Ch. These phrases are uniformly antedated by their exact equivalents in OFr.

CONCLUSION. AS. beran, virtually phraseless and narrow in its range of meanings, undergoes great development of meaning and phrasal use in MidE. The close similarity of MidE. and OFr. in phrasal uses of bear, resp. porter, even to the copying of precise phrases like bear the los, bear the flower, bear good faith, bear witness, together with the supplanting of certain AS. expressions for such phrases (*e.g.* sibbe syllan), establishes OFr. as the paramount influence in the phrasal extension of this verb. The chronology of the extension shows the beginning of the influence in the early part of the thirteenth century; its full sway in the first half of the fourteenth century.

II. NIMAN, NIMEN, RESP. TAKEN, TAKE.

AS. **NIMAN** had (B-T) as its significations: (1) take, receive, get; (2) take, keep, hold; (3) take, catch ('not figuratively'); (4) contain; (5) take (with one) = carry, bring; (6) take forcibly, seize, carry off.

It entered into many verbal phrases:—andan niman, take offence; bysne niman, take example, warning: And bysne niman, *Æl.*, *Lives*, xxiv. 66; casum niman, take a case (in grammar); eard niman, take up one's abode; feorh beniman, take away life: Heora feorh him benam, Gr., *Jud.*, viii. 2; fréondráeden niman, hold friendly intercourse with; frið niman, make peace with: se consul genam friþ wið Ispanie, *Oros.*, 5, 14; 46, 7; geléafan niman, believe; graman niman, take offence: nam to malche fulne graman, *Æl.*, *Lives*, xxiii. 694; láre niman, receive instruction; lufe niman, take affection for; móð niman, take courage; naman beniman, take one's name: ponne benimð Wisle Ilsing hire naman, *Oros.*, 20, 11; níode niman, take pleasure: Wé . . . níode náman, *Beo.*, 2117; sibbe niman, make terms; sige niman, gain the victory; ware niman, take care; wæpna niman, take up arms; wed niman, take pledge: Gif þu wed nime, Gr., *Ex.*, xxii. 26; weg niman, take one's way; wfcstówa niman, pitch camp. Add to these certain phrases in which prepositions enter: on gemynd niman, to bear in mind; on hæft nín an, to take captive, &c.

MidE. **NIMEN** continues the sense of AS. niman, but develops new meanings, steadily following in the wake of the wider significance of OFr. prendre. The introduction of ON. taka, take, seize, catch, grasp, reach, &c., which constantly won ground on nimen during the MidE. period, contributed much to the growth of phrases, but the evidence of the chronology and of the authors here cited shows that in the main we have to reckon with French

influence and not Norse in the extension of the phrasal use of take during the period of which we treat. The definition of ON. phrasal influence is much to be desired.

The chief developments of meaning are :—

1. Seize upon one (of desire, sickness, &c.): Hunger him nam, *G. and Ex.*, 1490. But yef suchē thurst take you, *Rath. O. R.*, 280. A romance, and hit me took | To rede and drive the night away, Ch., *Duch.*, 48 f. Him tok seknes, *A. E. L.*, *St. Aug.*, 1635.

OFr. parallels: Somel li prist, dormir se vot, *Tr.*, i. 64. Pitié m'en prist, *ib.*, i. 26. Merueillouse pite li prist, *Hav.*, 580. Talenz li prist d'aler chacier, M. de Fr., *Gui.*, 76; *Chai.*, 1. Comme se fievre m'estoit prise, *ib.*, 844.

2. Capture (of towns, &c.), conquer: þe nimð casteles, *V. and V.*, 129, 4.

In OFr.: Jerusalem prist ja par traſsun, *Ch. de R.*, 1523. Ja prist-il Noples, *ib.*, 1775.

3. Begin (with infinitives): Takeþþ nu to fullhtnenn, *Orm.*, 18269. (ON. usage.)

OFr.: Evruln prist a castier, *St. Leger*, § 18. Li uns en a pris l'autre a araisnier, *Aiol.*, 1958. Quant il l'ot mort, sel prent a chasteier, *Cour. L.*, 135 (Const., *Chres.*, p. 65). Prist sa face à noircir, *Alexand.* (*Elect.*), 156.

4. Assume (with 'upon'): Take upon me more than ynough, Ch., *Prol. Mill. T.*, 52. They wole taken on hem no thing, *R. Rose*, 6107 = sur eus riens n'en prendront, *ib.*, 11743. OFr.: Tot le péchié del mostier pren sor mi, *Cour. L.*, 1688. Sor lei en prist lo greingnor fes, *Troie*, 2084. Vous le prendrez sur vous pour trestout amender, *Hugues Capet*, v. 3320 (L.).

The chief phrasal uses of nimen, resp. taken, showing Romance influence are :—

take advantage: He that . . . wolde | Take avaantage, Gower, *Conf.*, iii. 322 (NED).

Prendriez vus nul avantage, *Yr.-Bk. Ed. I.*, p. 119 (anno 1292).

take the air: *Bruce*, vi. 304.

Pour l'air avoir nouvel et prendre, God. de P., 308.

take amends: And tok a-mendis at thair hand, *Bruce*, xii. 382. Que j'en puisse prendre amendise, *G. de P.*, 889.

take arms [= be knighted]: How he toke armes of kyng Calomond, *Torrent of P.*, 2168.

Que d'autrui ne uuel armes prendre, *Cligés*, 121.

take arravage: And prevely took arravage, Ch., *H. of F.*, 223.

A Cotenois rivage prist, *Brut*, 5238. En mer se met, si ot bon vent | En Crete prist arrivement, *De Josaph.*, Rich., 1553 (God.).

take avis: Sche . . . took avis by hirself, Ch., *Mel.*, p. 189.

Es estoiles prent son avis, Gen., *Best.*, B. M. (in God.).

take baptism: And baptism tok, *Scot. Leg.*, iii. 247.

Un crestiens ne prist batesme, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 30337. Mais prent batesme, *Ronc.*, p. 145 (L.). Et prendront baptestire veraement, *Aiol*, 408.

take battle: *3if men habbeth bataile i-nume, O. and N.*, 1195. And y schal for þe take bataile, *A. and A.*, 1112.

Vers cui il a pris bataille, *Cligés*, 574. Bataille ne prendrei pur Sarazin, *FitzW.*, p. 163.

take blood: *7 nome blod 7 ban i þa meare meiden, Jul.*, p. 63.

Et sanc et char i presistes por nous, *Elie*, 1374. Et car et sanc presis en la dinge mollier, *Aiol*, 6185. Cf. 'take flesh.'

take comfort: Pat no cumfort wolde he forþ take, *A. E. L.*, *Amb.*, 422. Nor comfort noon unto hir take, *R. of R.*, 318.

Ne sai où nul confort pregne, Couci ix (L., *valoir*). Od tel aviez pris solaz, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 25892. Je y prend grant plaisirance, grant confort et grans déduis, *Machault*, p. 135; p. 137.

Cf. AS., *Teah him elnunge to*, *ÆE.*, *Lives*, xxiii. 524.

take counsel: Ac lebbe and nime godne red, *O. E. H.*, 71. Swo hi nomen conseil betuene hem, *O. K. Serm.*, p. 26. King ute nom is conseil, *R. G.*, *Ch.*, 3254. Who knew euer any kyng such counsel to take, *G. and G. K.*, 682; *St. Marg.*, 136.

A voz Franceis un cunseill en preistes, *Ch. de R.*, 205. Conseil en prist od li meesme, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 13003. Si en soit jà li conseil pris, *Tr.*, i. 33; i. 113. Autre cunseil vus estuet prendre, M. de F., 2 *Am.*, 101. Lors pristrent conseil qu'il porroient respondre, *Jos. of A.*, 239; *Gaimar*, 3070; *Hav.*, 688.

AS. niman to räde: And nam him to räde, *ÆE.*, *Lives*, iii. 230. This construction persists in MidE., as in: Hwi nulleð hi nimen heom to rede, *O. and N.*, 1762. Hii nome hom to rede, *R. G.*, *Ch.*, 9758. Heo nomen heom to þam rede, *O. E. H.*, p. 91. The later expressions: Has tane to rede that he vald nocht, *Bruce*, xii. 389; And till puroff hast tane | Till wend hamward, *ib.*, xvi. 471, are French.

take course: Tak þy cours wiþ schaste, *Libeaus Des.*, 334. Othere toke þat cors on haste, *Sir Ferumb.*, 3152.

Ne ðe devrunt lur curs prendre, *St. Brandan*, 234. Similar to AS.: weg niman, OFr. *chemin (voie) prendre*.

take the cross [= become crusader]: þe cross nom, *R. G.*, *Ch.*, 346.

Pristrent la croyx, *Livere de Reis*, 244.

take crown: Uterpendragon coroun nam, *A. and M.*, 3049.

Pran la corone, rois devien, Wace, *Brut*, 16816; *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 20108. AS. fón to rice.

take cure: But ye the rather take cure, Ch., *Comp. Pit.*, 82.

Jà sor toi cure n'en prandrai, Wace, *Brut*, 6727. A deu prie qu'en prenge cure, M. de Fr., *Gui.*, 200. Del sujurner ne prist cure, *St. Brandan*, 162; *Best. Rich.*, 859; *Troie*, 11761.

take day: And toke day at þe monthys ende of pleyn batayle, *Oct.*, 1497.

Un jor qui fus nomez et pris, *Cligés*, 4629. Et pristrent jor des noces fere, *Fab.*, iv. 114. Cf. also, Et pris terme des noces fere, *ib.*, i. 46; *Troie*, 27726.

In AS., dæg settan, *Ps.*, Th., lxxv. 7 (B-T).

take death: Þet he nimþ þane dyap, *Ayen.*, 30. Ffor þat Walwes his depþ þer tok, R. B., *Ch.*, 6100. Oure louerd hi self tok strong depþ, *St. Marg.*, 105.

D'icele croiz à Deus prist mort, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 23295. Ja mais n'en penras mort tant com . . . dura uns, *Elie*, 740.

take discipline: Nemeð discipline of all þe misdades ȝe ȝe deð, *V. and V.*, 125, 29.

Et desipline illoques prisent, Wace, *Brut*, 14904.

take ease: But vachis, tak thair eiss and ly, *Bruce*, vii. 306.

En ce mortel monde ne faut y prendre ses aises, Al. Char., *Con. trois v.* (God.).

take end: The dragon hað tan hys ȝynde, *Sir Egl.*, 756. Or that ȝour purposse ende haf tane, *Bruce*, iv. 660. Hit ne me neauer mare lutlin ne wursin ne neome nan ende, *O. E. H.*, p. 265.

Des que la u la mer e la terre prent fin, Wace, *Rou*, ii. 2689. Ne prist cesse ne fin, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 27215. Pristrent fin ne ces, *Troie*, 1167. No cantefable prent fin, *Auc. et N.*, 41, 24. Quel veie e chemin | O tuit prenent fin! *Reimp.*, § 125; *Aiol.*, 2370; *Brandan*, 720; *Gaimar*, 266.

take entent: But euermore heo tok entent . . . Hire mouȝt to stoppe, *A. E. L.*, *St. Paula*, 151. Now tak here-to good entent, *A. E. L.*, *Kindj.*, 277; *A. and M.*, 1968. Cf. *prendre cure*, *prendre garde*, &c. under 'take heed,' q. v.

take example: Nimeð nu uorbisne hu god . . . , *A. R.*, 254. To nime ensample afterward, R. G., *Ch.*, 8975. To take ensaum-pille of fame, R. R. H., *P. T.*, 37; Ch., *Monkes T.*, 249; Scot. Leg., *Prol.* 29.

Cil devra l'om eesample prendre, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 12641. Ki bien voldreit raisun entendre | ici purreit ensample prendre, M. de Fr., *Eg.*, 313. Por prendre example bel et gent, *Fab.*, i. 26; *Hav.*, 4. Similar to AS. bysne niman.

take flesh, humanity: Þe manhede þat toke flesshe and bone, R. B., *Hand. S.*, 661. To takenn ure mennisclegge, *Orm.*, 85.

E pur nus de la pucele char prist, *Man. Pech.*, 1348. Com vos preites char en la virge, *Jos. of Arim.*, 1177. Cf.: Pregnant ja mais cors, *Eneas*, 2886. Prendent humaine figure, Wace, *Brut*, 7639. Incarnassion | Prist, *ib.*, 15297. Humanité | Prist, Boron, *Graal*, 101. Prist-il no vie, *ib.*, 141.

Cf. AS., and flæsc under-feng, *Æ.*, *Lives*, xxx. 64.

take flight: Pat oþer dragoun his fliȝt nome, *B. of H.* (x), 2641. He hath takyn flyght, *Ip.*, 8623. I will nocht tak flicht, Scot. Leg., *Paulus*, 217; *Bruce*, xiii, 279.

Et à Londres son vol prendroit, Wace, *Brut*, 1686. Si je n'ë trop loing pris mon vol, *La Poire*, 2252. Il prit son vol (of a hawk), *Ronc.*, p. 164 (L.). Purquei d'iloeuc preignant fuite (take retreat), *St. Brandan*, 1163; *Trist.*, 148.

take going: Out of þe chauncel tok his going, A.E.L., *Am.*, 1050. Prent soun a'er, Pierre de L., i, 78. Prent soun voyage, *id.*, 8.

take gram: Whare many of the Normandes tok mekil grame, Minot, in *Pol. P.*, i, 70. Cf. take ire, Ch., *C. Mars*, 132; and pris haïne, *Ch. d. N.*, ii, 5180. AS. graman niman.

take habit [=become a monk]: Whon Bernard had taken his abyty, A. E. L., *St. B.*, 287.

Prist dras de moigne, Gaimar, 1566. E prist l'abit de muniage, *Josaph.*, 114.

take harbour, inn, &c.: Askede here if ȝhe migte taken | Herberȝe for hire frendes sake[n], *G. and Ex.*, 1391. And toke them herboure thare, *Ip.*, 309. Forþ him wente sire Benoun | And tok is in in þat toun, *B. of H.*, 1133.

Herberges unt purrsies, *Prl. de Ch.*, 109. Perneit la nuit herbergement, M. de Fr., *Chièv.*, 34. Ostel prisent, bien s'atornèrent, Wace, *Brut*, 2056; *Concep.*, p. 60. Prist-il herberjaje, *Alesc.*, 2325; herbergerie, *ib.*, 2332.

take haven: Hauene he tok at Porcestre, R. B., *Ch.*, 5397.

R. B. here translates: Port et terre prist à Porcestre, Wace, *Brut*, 5020; *Troie*, 3271; *Trist.*, i, 43. Que il prendroient port à Corfol, Villeh., 56.

take heart: Ac gode hert to ȝou takeþ, *A. and M.*, 2090. [For] to do this, so that thou take good herte, Ch., *H. of F.*, 603.

Tel cuer prenez et tel corage, *Troie*, 13556. Mes pren bon cuer et si t'avance, *R. Rose*, i, 228. Cf. AS. móð niman.

take heed: Whan men of hir taken noon hede, *R. of R.*, 418. Nimen hede, *P. Pl. (B.)*, xi, 313. Tac hede of þe werke þon, A. E. L., *St. Aug.*, 1259. To riȝt and law that ssold tak hede, *Pol. S.*, 197.

Lusiane sa fille si s'en prist garde, *Aiol*, 1990. Il fust assez qui garde en prist, M. de Fr., *Lan.*, 545. Conques garde ne m'en pris, *R. u. P.*, i, 39, 39.

The AS. idiom is ware niman.

take keep: And þe mare sorow when þai tuk kepe, *Pr. of C.*, 381. And or that Arcyte may taken keep, Ch., *K. T.*, 1830. Haid ȝe tane keip how at that king, *Bruce*, i, 95.

Mais a Rome dist al séné | Que de la mer garde prendroit, Wace, *Brut*, 5509; *Ch. d. N.*, ii, 25486. Ipomedon garde n'en prist, *Ipom.*, 3808; *R. Rose*, 412.

take land: *Et Dovre he pohte nimen lond, Laȝ., 9737.* On vest half, toward dumfermyne | Tuk land, *Bruce*, xvi. 550.

A paine avoient tère prise, Wace, *Brut*, 4059. Là pristrent terre o Deus les volt mener, *Alesc.*, xvi. (L.). Cf. prist rivage, Wace, *Brut*, 5238. Also ON., land taka.

take leave: Nom leuae pereof, *A. R.*, 230. Joseph of Aramathe tok leue at Pylate, R. R. H., *Med.*, 369. And nime leve, *O. and N.*, 457. Horn tok his leue, *Horn*, 463; R. G., *Ch.*, 300; *Oct. (SE.)*, 529; *A. and A.*, 131, 974.

Prenent cungied, à cel mot s'enturnent, *Ch. de R.*, 2764; *Trist.*, ii. 61; *Hav.*, 552. De son seignur ad pris congié, *A. et A.*, 52, 245; *Jos. of Arim.*, 968, 1460, &c.

This phrase is interesting as showing the development of AS. léaf, leave = permission, licence; but not farewell. Congé in OFr. had both senses; OFr. had not only *donner congé* [= permettre], AS. *lēaf syllan*; but also *prendre congé* = to take leave, to say farewell to. MidE. extends AS. *lēaf* to agree with OFr.

take life: Bynym nought thy sonnys lyf, *Seven Sages*, 705.

A maint paien en a le jour la vie prise, *Bu. de C.*, 3792.

AS. *leorh beniman*.

take lordship, mastery: Pe lordschip of þis lande þai namen, R. B., *Ch.*, 36. Pe maistrie from Maxcence he nam, *ib.*, 6240; *Ch.*, *Frank. T.*, 19.

Desus Bier prist la maistrie, Wace, *Rou*, i. 236.

take mercy: On us eny mercy take, A. E. L., *C. de C.*, 120.

De ceste terre quar praigne pitié, *Ch. d. N.*, 568; Wace, *Nicholas*, 98. Volentiers preist grace, kar de prendre a mes[tier], Wace, *Rou*, ii. 4424.

take order: ȝe ne tok neuer as i trowe | Of kniȝthod pe hordere, *W. of P.*, 4461. And ordurres non will take, *Torrent*, 48. Order of kniȝt, *ib.*, 51. To take pe ordre of Sistewes, *A. E. L.*, *St. Bern.*, 146. Loke how many orders take | Onely of Christ, for his service, *Pol. P.*, i. 329.

Qu'il volt a Jumeges (prendre) ordre de moniage, Wace, *Rou*, ii. 1756. C'est nostre compere Ysengrin | Qui de nouel a Ordre pris, *Renart*, 2163.

take part: Beo heo dal neominde of heofene riches blisse, *O. E. H.*, 47.

Tiel en prist part, pas n'en joȝ, *A. N. Ch.*, i. 16.

take purpose: When I had takene my syngulere purpos, R. R. H., *P. T.*, p. 5. He toke his purpose hole to wende, *Ip.*, 1205.

Et quel porpans an porra prandre, Wace, *Conception* (God.); *Rou*, i. 630.

take heed: Of hir tunge ho nom red, *O. and N.*, 1071. See 'take counsel.'

take rest: & wolde take her reste, *Wm. of P.*, 2236. & þer token aise & rest, *A. and M.*, 8209. Besyde Acrys yn a boschayle þey token rest, *Oct.*, 1607 (SE.). And toke rest tyl hyt was daye, *Seven Sages*, 2197.

La nuit, quant repos doivent prendre, *Cl. d'A.*, 3. Sanz repos prendre et sans séjour, *R. Rose*, 362. Entresqu'ad Ais ne voelt prendre surjur, *C. de R.*, 3696.

take right [=justice]: Neme riht of ðe seluen, *V. and V.*, 125, 30.

Que mors son droit des cors prendra, *La Rose*, 8170 (L.). Et des felons iustise prist, *Hav.*, 974; *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 19771.

take the sea: þer he þa sae nom, *Laȝ.*, 4966 (translating il prit la mer (S-B)).

take sorrow: Such sorwe this lady to her took, *Ch.*, *Duch.*, 95. In heuerlc birðhe sorge numen, *G. and Ex.*, 368. See 'take comfort.'

take standing: He went and tok his stondyng, *A. E. L.*, *Amb.*, 1057.

Pur vostre amur ici prendrai estal, *Ch. de R.*, 2139. Drias returne e prent estal, *Ip.*, 5830; *Alexand. (Enfance)*, 257.

take tent: There to wold he take no tente, *Ip.*, 519. Take þe tente to ȝow, and to al the flocke, *Wic.*, *Deeds*, 20, 28. See 'take entent, heed, keep.'

take truce: Quhill trewis at the last tuk thai, *Bruce*, xiv. 96.

Quar prenez truies, que jà n'i enterrons, *Prise d'Or.*, 1043. A quinze dis triue prendreient, *En.*, 6004; *Mort Garin*, 838; *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 24625; *Gaimar*, 2563.

take turn: From þe tyme he took his tourne ffram Rome, *Alex. (Laud 622)*, 343.

Puis pris son tor par Alemaigne, *Wace*, *Brut*, 3928.

take vengeance: Whan God took wreche of Kaymes synne, *R. B.*, *Ch.*, 202. Nimen wreche, *G. and Ex.*, 1042. And brende & slug & wreche nam, *G. and Ex.*, 2668. And tuke na vengeance of us, *R. R. H.*, *P. T.*, 38. On Surriens to take high vengeance, *Ch.*, *M. L. T.*, 865.

Quidez vus prendre de Rollant venjaisun, *Ch. de R.*, 401 f. Mult grant venjance en prendrat l'Emperere, *Ch. d. N.*, 1489. Que d'aus venjance querre et prendre, *G. de P.*, 6492. Que tu n'en vausis prandre venjance, *Jos. of Arim.*, 591.

take way: Ne take þe ways of lyfe certayne, *R. R. H.*, *Pr. of C.*, 7242. To his felawes in he took his way, *Ch.*, *N. P. T.*, 206; *Monkes T.*, 364; *Oct.*, 1041 (NE.), &c.

Lor droit chemin ont pris vers la citeit, *R. u. P.*, i. 5, 27.
AS. weg niman.

take ȝeme: Ne nemeð neuer ȝeme, *A. R.*, 230. Neme michele ȝieme, *V. and V.*, 87, 27. Nim ȝeme to me nuðe, *Jul.*, 75. Nim ȝeme & understand bet he . . ., *A. R.*, 184; *V. and V.*, 4, 29; *St. Marh.*, p. 4; *H. Maid.*, p. 3. All based on prendre cure, prendre garde. AS. gýman or dón gýmen: Gýmene dó se Abbod = curam gerit abbas, *B. R.*, interl. 27, Lye, in B-T.

take wife: Or he eni wif take, *Horn*, 553.

Madan prist feme et ot deus fis, Wace, *Brut*, 1489; *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 8862. Qu'Anna préist autre mari, Wace, *Concept.*, p. 55.

Also AS.: Sé forma nam wif, *Luke*, xx. 29.

take agame: Ther-for ye oghte haue som compassioun | Of my disese and take it noght agame, Ch., *C. Mars*, 277.

Prendre à jeu, = considérer comme une plaisanterie: Que je puisse prendre | Tes grosses parolles à jeu, *Debat d. l. nourr.*, ATF., ii. 421 (God.).

take agrief: He tok it . . . agref, *K. Ali.*, 3785. Take it nouȝt agreef, Ch., *R. T.*, 73. Ladi, tak hit not a gref, R. R. H., *Lam.*, 129. Madame, takes not a-greeve, *Sir Deg.*, 467. Sire emperour, take nowt a-greef, *Seven Sages*, 53. Also, take at greffe, II. *Ip.*, 197, on greue, *Sir Am.*, 30.

Cf., *tenir à grief* = to feel offended: Cassibelaus qui tint a grief, *Brut*, 3982. A tort le prent, *Alisc.*, 1159. And *prendre en gré* is very common = receive favourably: Ton service prendré en gré, *R. Rose*, 2035.

take in cure, keep: Quwich . . . I tak not in my cure, *Lanc.*, 266.

Que ie vos praigne toz an garde, *Jos. of Arim.*, 1384; *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 20226. L'afaire a pris en cure, *Bu. de C.*, 1411. Se Diex et vous ne me prenez en cure, Machault, p. 57.

take in disdain: But take it not, I prey you, in desdayn, Ch., *Prol. C. T.*, 788.

En dessein prist la Deu verbe, *St. Brandan*, 531.

take in good intent: She taketh in good entente the wil of Christ, Ch., *M. L. T.*, 726. And took it in good entent, *Alex.* (Laud, 622), 336.

Trop prent en gré quanque li fait, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 16876. Le prent pour Dieu en gré et loiaument le sert, *Berle*, 871. Si les maux en gre m'en prent, *R. u. P.*, iii. 2, 39. Mais en bon gré le prennent pour Dieu, *Bu. de C.*, 1015. 'De bon gré' is very common in adverbial constructions. Cf. Lat.: in bonam (malam) partem accipere.

take in mercy: And thai taik thame in thair mercy, *Bruce*, xiv. 414. Analogous to take in disdain, &c.; but cf., Ne les prist à miséricorde, Machault, 69. Prengne à merci, *Enf. Og.*, 197.

take in patience: He tok in pacience to live or dye, Ch.,

C. Mars, 40. They most take in pacience a-night, Ch., *M. L. T.*, 612. This worthy Monk took al in pacience, Ch., *Pr. Monkes T.*, 77. Wal take it into pacience, Ch., *Mel.*, p. 160.

Après, Amis, en pacience | Dois penre et avoir soufisance, Machault, p. 93. Prit en patience, *Juvén. Ch.*, vi. 1380 (L.); *Pol. Songs, Bel Eye*, 153.

take in thank: Tharfor this seknes and this payne | I tak in thank for my trespass, *Bruce*, xx. 176. = *prendre en gré*, see 'take in good intent.'

take in vain: Nim godes name in ydel, *Ayen.*, 6. Take nauȝt hys name in ydelschepe, Wm. de Sh., 93. That takes not her lyf in vayne, *Pearl*, 58, 3. þat Cesar tok his preyer in veyn, R. B., *Ch.*, 5240.

Vus ne prendrez mie en vain le non nostre seignur, *Rubric, Man. Pech.*, f. 1311.

In AS. on ydel was freely used for 'in vain,' but not with niman. In Deut. we read: Ne nemne ge drihtnes naman on fdel, Gr., *Deut.*, v. 11 = non usurpabas nomen domini dei tui frustra. For þam þe ne bið he unschildig, se þe for fdelum þinge his naman nemð = qui non erit impunitus, qui super re vana nomen ejus assumpserit. Cf. also, Se þe his naman on yðel nemð, Gr., *E. c.*, xx. 7, = non assumes nomen domini tui in vanum.

The Latin of course frequently used *in vanum*. Cf. Non habebis nomen dei tui in vanum, Ne have þu pines drihtenes nome in nane aða ne in nane idel speche,' *O. E. H.*, i. 11.

take to heart: þat word tok he yuel til herte, R. B., 2317. þat nam he most to herte, *Wm. of P.*, 1203.

Cil en relieve la roine | Qui a cuer prent mult son afaire, *G. de P.*, 5297. Lit en un livre, mais au cuer ne l'en tient, *R. u. P.*, i. 3, 2.

take to ill: The kyng wold gretly take it to ille, *Ip.*, 1996. Y pray yow take hit not to ille, *Sir Deg.*, 442. = 'take agrief,' q. v.

Pour cou le tient a mal | Qu'il . . . , *Alexan. (Clins)*, 105. S'en prist à tort, God, de P., 3165.

take to purpose: And till purpos haff tane | Till wend hamward, *Bruce*, xvi. 471. See 'take to rede.'

take to rede, counsel [= to think advisable]: Hy nome sone to rede, *St. Nicolas* (Delius), p. 92. Has tane to rede that he vald nocht, *Bruce*, xii. 389.

Nos vos dirons ce que nous avons pris à conseil, *Villeh.*, 14.

take to wife: To þi wif þu me take, *Horn*, 536. And took hyr to hys make anoon, *Seven Sages*, 3281.

Feme son oncle, son seignor | Prist à feme, Wace, *Brut*, 13435. Prist à mollier, *Trist.*, i. 123. Si le prendrai a feme, a per et a mollier, *Aiol*, 6900.

An AS. construction as well: *tō gemæccan niman, to suna niman, &c.* Similarly, *take to party*: Cam took Aufryk til his partie, R. B., *Ch.*, 228. *Take to prisoner*: He toke him there to presunere, *Av. of A.*, 33.

take (to) witness: (a) *Vor oure godes ich take to witnesse*, R. G., *Ch.*, 1257; *P. Pl. (A.)*, xi. 41. *God i take to my witnes*, A. E. L., *St. Paula*, 8. (b) *I take witnes of seint Poule*, *ib.*, 22; (1382) *Pol. P.*, i. 250; *Torrent*, 1220.

In AS. the sense of these phrases is expressed: *IC hæbbe to dæg to gewitnisse heofen and eorðan*, Gr., *Deut.*, iv. 26. *IC clipie me to dæg to gewitnysse*, *ib.*, xxx. 19. *God to gewitan hæbbende*, A.E., *Lives*, xxiii, B, 78. *God him to gewitan . . . foresettende*, *ib.*, xxiii, B, 270. And Crist me is gewita, *ib.*, xxx. 359.

Though 'to gewitan niman' apparently does not occur in AS. it is a possible construction: cf. *7 hu Brettaine namon Maximianum him to casere ofer his willan*, *Oros.*, 7, 11.

The French construction is rather *traire à tesmoin*: A *tesmoin en trairoie maint franc home gentil*, *Aiol.*, 10, which is imitated in: *To witnesse ich drawe echone*, R. G., *Ch.*, 694. Phrases like (b) are scarcely contracted forms of (a); they are analogical to bear witness, &c., porter *témoin*.

CHRONOLOGY. The verb *niman* had in AS. a fair amount of phrasal power. The extension of the phrasal power of *nimen* resp. taken in MidE. begins in the first half of the thirteenth century, when *take* is found in phrasal use with blood, counsel, end, land, leave, part, right, sea, *ȝeme*. The second half of the century sees the phrases with battle, intent, harbour (inn), sorrow, vengeance. A large extension is noted in the first half of the fourteenth century: *take amends*, the cross, comfort, day, death, flesh, flight, habit, haven, hunt, keep, lordship (mastery), purpose, rest, standing, agrief, in vain, to heart. A somewhat greater influence is found in the second half of the fourteenth century: *take the air*, advantage, arms, arrivage, avis, baptism, cure, course, ease, mercy, order, tent, truce, agame, in cure, in good intent, in patience, in thank, in disdain, in mercy, to ill, to rede, to purpose.

CONCLUSION. The AS. *niman* on its phrasal side was in part in accordance with OFr.; e.g. *bysne niman*, *prendre exemple*; *ware niman*, *prendre garde*; *weg niman*, *prendre chemin*; *wif niman*, *prendre femme*. It was not difficult for such phrases to survive the struggle of the transition period. In some cases, e.g. the phrases *frið niman*, *sige niman*, the AS. phrases, unsupported by French parallels, dis-

appeared, and their place was taken by equivalent Romance phrases. One may well believe that a considerable phrasal extension of take would have arisen from the original stock of expressions in AS., had our language gone on its way unimpeded; but the close correspondence of the new phrasal uses of take with those of prendre, a correspondence detailed and exact even in expressions so idiomatic as take to heart, and the uniform priority in date of the French parallels, lead one to conclude that the extension of the phrasal power of take in MidE. is due in the main to the influence and example of the phrasal use of OFr. prendre.

II. ADVERBIAL PHRASES OF NEGATION

THE present chapter seeks to establish the influence of OFr. on MidE. as respects the figurative negation, i.e. the negative particle emphasized by the addition of some well-known object of little or no value: *Ne crivent assaut une pome parée*, *Alesc.*, 4230. *Daz hueſe niht ein blaſt*, *Walther*, 103, 36. His helme was not worth a bene, *Ip.*, 6238.

The earliest treatment of this negation on the Germanic side was made by Jacob Grimm in his 'Deutsche Grammatik,' iii. p. 728 (ed. Göttingen, 1831). Speaking of MHG. he said: 'Bei unsern Dichtern des xiii. Jh. begegnen sich die meisten Versuche, den verneinenden Ausdruck des Satzes durch ein hinzugefügtes Bild zu heben'; and he adduces examples of the use of *blaſt*, *bast*, *ber*, *strō*, *spriu*, *riet*, *bône*, *wicke*, *nuz*, *ei*, *brōt*, *hâr*, &c., from many MHG. poets. Thirty years later, in 1862, a more systematic and thorough treatment of this feature of MHG. was made by Dr. Ignaz v. Zingerle, 'Über die bildliche Verstärkung der Negation bei mittelhochdeutschen Dichtern'¹.

A similar study has not been made of the Scandinavian group of languages, because of lack of material, concerning which Grimm remarks: 'Verbindungen sinnlicher Subst. mit *ecki*, *icke*, *ikke*, ähnlich den von 1-19 angeführten Verstärkungen des Hochd. *nicht*, scheinen selten. Doch ein dän. *ikke en smule* ist S. 730 beigebracht. Saem. 182^a liest man: *hôt þín hræðomk ecki lyf* (*minas tuas omnino non timeo*): das *lyf* erklären alle Ausleger ungenügend; wenn es sich für *lauf* (*folium*) oder etwas Verwandtes nehmen liesse, so würde ein passender Sinn gewonnen,' u. s., p. 740.

Gothic, OHG., and OS. have nothing similar to show except

¹ Wiener Academie der Wissenschaften, Sitzung vom 19. März, 1862. *Sitzungsberichte*, Bd. 39.

the negative particle strengthened by (Goth.) *wafht*, 'thing,' corresponding to our use of *nothing*.

On the Latin side the most complete treatment I have met is that of Alfred Schweighæuser (see *infra*). A more recent and, in respect to the ultimate force of *nihil*, *malli*, a more trustworthy treatment is by Wölfflin in his article in the *Archiv*, 1894, 1, 'Der Genitiv des Wertes und der Ablativ des Preises.' The use of *nihil* [= *ni hili*, not a thread], of *flocci*, a flock of wool, *nauci*, an empty nut, *pili*, hair, *hettæ*, and of various coins—*terunci*, *semassis*, *assis*, *dupondii*, *tressis*—with the verbs *non facere*, *pendere*, *putare*, *deputare*, *habere*, *censare*, *aestimare*, or in popular speech *existimare*, shows the extent to which the figurative negation had its roots in Latin, especially in the familiar correspondence, the comic dramatists, and popular speech. The 'homo trioboli' of Plautus, translated directly from the not uncommon Gk. *τριαβόλον ἄξιος*, illustrates the ease with which one language will adopt the current phrase of another.

For the French brief mention is made by Grimm, 'Deutsche Grammatik'; Raynouard, 'Grammaire comparée,' p. 370; Diez, 'Grammaire des langues romanes,' iii. 935; and D. Gilles, 'De l'emploi de la négation dans la langue française,' Bruxelles, 1877. Very full, though, to judge from my own collections, still very incomplete treatments are made by Alfred Schweighæuser (S.), in an article 'De la Négation dans les langues romanes du midi et du nord de la France,' published in the 'Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes,' Paris, III. ii., iii (1850, 1851); and by F. Perle, 'Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie,' ii. 408 ff. Definitive treatments of the figurative negations in the various Romance languages are much to be desired.

For MidE. we have the work of Dr. Hein, referred to below.

THE AS. NEGATIONS.—The negation in AS. was very simple. In general, *ne* with the verb was sufficient to express the negative. It might be strengthened with some form of *wiht*, originally 'creature,' 'thing,' or in the very late days of AS. by *þing*. A few negative adverbs, such as *nalles*, *náteshwón*, were in use. These, and a trace, perhaps, of a figurative formation in *hand-hwil*, moment, and the very late use of *fót* with a verb of motion, virtually comprise the negative adverbial expressions in AS.:—
Ne sleh ðu, Gr., *Ex.*, xx. 13; *Ne þurfan ȝe nóht besorgian hwæt ȝe sprecan*, *Bl. Hom.*, p. 163; *Ic ne mæg wuht oncnawan*, Cd., 26

(B-T). And se penda (this Penda) ne cuðe be criste nan þincg, *Æl. Lives*, xxvi, 153; Nelle ic . . . oferfleón fótes trem, *Beo.*, 2525; sōtmæl landes, *By.*, 275; Swa sceal mæg dón, | nealles inwit-net | óðrum bregdan, *Beo.*, 2167; Þa nolde Seon þe cyning náteshwon him tðian, Gr., *Num.*, xxi, 23.

In contrast with this paucity of negative adverbial expressions, the wealth of MidE. is striking. Objects from organic and inorganic nature, plants, animals, parts of the body, fruits, articles of food and clothing, measures of value, weight, &c., all are put into service in a vivid colloquial style. The change is startling, and forces one naturally to seek an explanation for it in the language most closely associated with MidE., and in which the figurative negation shows a most luxuriant growth.

THE OFR. NEGATION.—Even in the earliest stages of the French language the French negative was thoroughly figurative—the negative particle was constantly strengthened by words used tropically. All or almost all the tropical value had, even in early French, been lost in negations with *mie* < *micam*: Il ne s'esveillet mie, *Ch. de R.*, 724; *pas* < *passum*: Ne l'devez pas blasmer, *Ch. de R.*, 681; *point* < *punctum*: Respont Roland: ne sui point empiré, *Ronc.*, p. 92 (L.); *mot* < *muttum*: Il n'en set mot, n'i ad culpe li ber, *Ch. de R.*, 1173; *rien* < *rem*: Mais en enfer ne me valt rien, *St. Brandan*, 1456; *goutte* < *guttam*: Et gute ne vedeit, *Rois*, p. 48 (L.); *pied* < *pedem*: Del regne la meitié . . . Ja n'en aurai, dist il, ne plein pas ne plein pié, *Rou*, 658; *dei* < *digitum*: Tant cum Tiebalt tendra de ma terre plein dei, *ib.*, 4325.

In addition to these, in which in more than one case a strong trace of the figurative value of the expression is to be noticed, there are very many negative phrases in which the figurative value is the chief characteristic. It is necessary, in order to understand the character of French during the period of its early influence on English, to bring these forward. The examples that immediately follow are restricted to dates anterior to 1200, consequently before the first indisputable occurrence of the figurative negation in MidE., and are taken in most cases from Norman texts: c. 1040, *Alexis*, 77, Que l'orgueil de ce monde ne prisoit un fromage; c. 1060, *Pél. de Ch.*, 575, N'en i remaindrat ja pesant une escaligne [= onion]; c. 1080, *Ch. de R.*, 3338, Tute lur lei un denier ne lur valt; *ib.* 1879, En la bataille dict estre forz e fiers, | O altrement ne valt quatre deniers; 1100+, *Char. de N.*, 626, Jà de la moie n'auroiz mès plain un gant; *ib.* 278, N'i ai conquis vaillant un fer de lance; *ib.* 428, N'en ai é vaillant un oef pelé; 1133+*Ste. Marg.* 116, Ne prise pas une chevele | Quant que li ai dit ne promise; c. 1150, *Cour. L.*, 156, N'a vèye feme vaillant un angevin [small coin]; *ib.* 909, La vieille broigne ne li valut un paile; *ib.* 2372, 2394, 2418, Mar i perdra vaillant une maaille; *ib.* 838, Ne pris-ge mie nés un trespass de vent; *ib.* 1049, Ne l'empira vaillant un

esperon; *ib.* 1052, Ne valent mès ti cop un haneton; c. 1150, *Clef d'Amour*, 1169, Quer homme ne vaut un bouton; c. 1150, *Prise d'Or.*, 1513, Par Mahomet! ne vaus un romoisin [small coin]; c. 1150, *Alesc.*, 377, La soe force ne vaut pas un bouton; *ib.* 1687, Ne li valut la targe une espanière, | La vielie broigne, le r. in d'une fochière; *ib.* 4918, Ne li pesoit le rein d'un olivier; *ib.* 16. Mès ne li monte le pris de .ij. besanz; *ib.* 310, Par mi son elme, mès n'empire un festu; *ib.* 6268, Ne crient cop d'arme vailant un panonce; *ib.* 6754 li sont com un pant d'auqueton ['sorte d'étoffe, drap']; *ib.* 6473, Et Apolin, qui ne vaut un festu, | Ne Tervagan la fuelle d'un séu [elder]; c. 1160-74, *Rou*, 4144, Eureues ont perdu, n'i prist vaillant un peis; c. 1166+, *Elie*, 2111, Onques nel sorporta vaillant une chenele (= haw); *ib.* 2088, Ne l'empirist il ia le monte d'une nesple [medlar]; c. 1165+, *Mort Garin*, 2075, Tot ce ne pris une poi porrie; *ib.* p. 240, Onques n'i prist la monte d'un espi, &c.

This list, by no means complete, will suffice to represent the fullness of growth of the figurative negation in French in the early literature of that language.

MID.E. NEGATIONS AND OF.R. PARALLELS.—Dr. J. Hein, in his full and in almost every respect trustworthy work¹, has given a systematic presentation of the occurrences of the negation in MidE. poetry. For not a few of the examples here adduced (marked H.) I am indebted to that admirable work. In seeking psychological grounds as the immediate cause of the growth of negative expressions in MidE., Dr. Hein has, for lack of the comparative method, been led into error. On the other hand, the French influence, which he suspects to have probably had no inconsiderable share in bringing about this growth², is the immediate source of inspiration, the model of its form, and in almost every case the content of its thought.

In the presentation of the English negatives, Hein's article permits me to restrict the number of illustrations.

apple: Ne worth an appel for to lowe, *R. of R.*, 4532.

Ne crient assaut une pome parée, *Alesc.*, 4230 (also Provençal). Certes, ne priseriez mie | Vostre eise une pomme pourrie, Boron, *Graal*, 4001. Qu'el ne prise pas une pome, *R. Rose*, p. 217; also *Troie*, 3085. De che n'en poise pas sa vie | Vaillant une pume pourrie, *Fab.*, ii. 77 (also Provençal). Ki riche hume | S'il ne valt une bele pume, *Ip.*, 8467. Je ne pris mon mari mie | Une orde pome pourrie, *R. u. P.*, i. 49, 55.

bean: Lete abbe ir franchise, and al nas wurth a bene, *R. G.*,

¹ 'Ueber die bildliche Verneinung in der mittelenglischen Poesie,' *Anglia*, xv. 41 ff., 391 ff.; also sep. ed., Halle, 1893.

² Dr. Hein's position as respects possible French influence is as follows:—

'Dem Französischen, dessen Verneinung ausschliesslich eine bildliche ist, ist wohl kein geringer Anteil an diesem Wachstum, besonders bei den mit nachfolgendem Genitiv stehenden Bildern zuzuschreiben,' *Anglia*, xv. 471.

Ch., 10223. His helme was not worthe a bene, *Ip.*, 6238. Ther is no rjch man that dredeth God | The worth of a bene, *Time of Ed.* II., str. 47, 10-11 [H.]; *Ch.*, *Mar. T.*, 19.

Ne le mentir une feve ne prisen, Chans. MSS. du C^e Thibaut, p. 16 (La C.). See pois = haricots, in many dialects (La C.).

blenk: And nogt a blenk muſt he se, *C. M.* (Fairf.), 19648.

Blenk = gleam of light (NED). Illoeces gis, n'i ai luor, *St. Brandan*, 1418. Jà n'i verra chandoile né luor, *Cov. Viv.*, 549. Il ne voit plus ne luor ne clarté, *Ronces.*, 91 (L.). The usual equivalent is goutte.

briar: It is not worth a crooked brere, *R. of R.*, 6194.

Onques n'i prist la monte d'une espi, *Mort Garin*, p. 240. Le roy vit que sa force n'i valsit ij. espis, *A. N. Ch.*, iii. 188. Qu'il donnast vaillant un espi, *Fab.*, ii. 175.

bristle: No is worþ þe brust of a swin, *Roul and Vern.*, 561.

Ne lessierent poil ne pelet, G. de Coinci, *Mir.* (God., pelet).

butterfly: Such talkeinge is nouȝt worth a boterflye. *Ch.*, *Pr. N. P. T.*, 24; *Mar. T.*, 12304.

De lui n'ai garde ne que d'ung papillon, *Gir. de Ross.*, 3260.

button: Ne vaillede him nouȝt worþ a botoun, *B. of H.*, 1004. It no vailed botoun, *Trist.*, 1448 [H.].

La soe force ne vaut pas un bouton, *Alsc.*, 377 (also Provençal). Quer homme n'y vaut un bouton, *Cl. d'Am.*, 1169. Apollin ne prise mes vallant un bouton, *St. Auban*, 334. Je ne donroie un bouton | D'amors ne de sa fierté, Gillebert de Berneville (Troup. belges), p. 89. Ne donnas-ge deus boutons, *R. Rose*, p. 321.

clide [= burr?]: Ne gyffe i noghte a clide, *Oct.*, 779 (NE.). Of al Fraunce ȝaf nouȝt a cleete (1377), *Pol. Poems*, i. 217. ['A piece of wood,' Wright; 'burdock,' S-B.]

Exact equivalents in OFr. I have not yet found.

cod: I telle not worþ a cod, for alle þi faire is faynt, *R. B.*, *Ch.* (ed. Hearne), p. 289.

Cf. alie = 'gousse d'ail.' Que l'escus de son col ne li vaut une alie, | Ni li haubers del dos une pume porrie, *Aymon*, p. 48. Qui vaille point la monte d'une alie, *Mort Garin*, 2080. Mes ce ne li valut la monte d'unne alie, *A. N. Ch.*, iii. 189.

corn: Nouȝt but the mountance of a corn of whete, *Ch.*, *Pr. T.*, 402.

Trestout estoit bien; D'Angloys ne leur train | Ne me challoit grain, Martial de Paris, *Vig. de Charl.* VII., fo 23^b, ed. 1493 (God., who gives many other examples).

(cherry) stone: Thereof give Y nouȝt a chirston, *G. of W.*, p. 367, v. 18 [H.].

Ne prisa a une cerise, *Lives Ed. Conf.*, p. 116. Ne valt mie une pierre, *Fab.*, ii. 249.

cresse: For anger gayness the not a cresse, *Pearl*, 29, 7.
Wisdom and witte now is nouȝt worth a carse, *P. Pl.*, B. x. 17.
Of paramours ne sette he nat a kers, Ch., *Mil. T.*, 568.

Cf., Et si ne prise pas ii, mauves (= mallow) | Homme ne femme, *Fab.*, ii. 49. Que grant cols de perre cornue | Ne prise un ramet de ceguȝ, *Best. Rich.*, 1662. Ne pris pas un rain de segue (= parsley, hemlock), *Ruteb.*, ii. 197 (L.). Tout le sang li remue | Out de ris ne de jeu ne cure une latue, *Bekker, Fragments*, p. 15 (S.). Ne laira Alixandre ki vaille une latue, *Alexan. (Alix.)*, 6.

dice: Ne neuer dere hym a dyse with no dede efe, *Destr. Tr.*, 808.

Sire, ce dit Bertran . . . visez-vous à l'avoir ? Je n'y accompte un dé, *Guesc.*, 15930 (14 cent., L.). Qu'il n'a lessie vaillant .i. as | Fors de ces murs, *Chev. au L.*, 3885. N'eut de tut Engleterre qui valsist un seul as, *Th. le mart.*, 113 (L.).

drop: No drope of favour hight, Ch., *C. of L.*, 319.

Soleil n'i luet, n'i cort goute de vent, *Prise d'Or.*, 463. Juifs qui ne voȝent goute | En nostre loi, God. de P., 3005. A negation in frequent use.

egg: þis lond nis worþ an ay, *Trist.*, 3167.

N'en ai éu vaillant un oef pele, *Char. de Ny.*, 428 (also Provençal). Tot l'autre ne prisen un oef, *Eneas*, 800. Que ne prise home qui soit .i. oef pele, *Auberi*, 4, 9. Icist conseil ne vealt un oef, *Adam*, p. 48. Que tiele creance ne valt un oef, *Man. Pech.*, 1116. Ne plus que por .i. oef de quaille, *Fab.*, iv. 174.

farthing (groat, penny): Eche ȝer a thousand marc. & nouȝt a verþing lasse, R. G., *Ch.*, 10432. That can noht a ferthing worth of god, unneth sing a masse, *Ed. II., Pol. Songs*, p. 328. That in her coppe was no ferthing sene | Of grece, Ch., *Prol. C. T.*, 134. With-held he nouȝt a ferpinges nok, *Hav.*, 820.

The figurative use of coins in OFr. is very common. *Florin*, *maille*, *angevin*, *paresis*, *denier*, *besant*, *sol*, *tartre*, are the chief coins employed, for which *farthing*, *groat*, *penny*, are the general equivalents in MidE.: Tute lur lei un denier ne lur valt, *Ch. de R.*, 3338 (also Provençal). En la bataille deit estre forz e fiers, | O altrement ne valt quatre deniers, *ib.*, 1879. Ja n'aurez des normanz vaillant vn sul denier, *Rou.*, 2231. Ne vaut le cercle un denier monée, *Alesc.*, 1115. Asaus n'i valt la monte d'un denier, *Mort Garin*, 4367. Mès tu es morz, n'en dorroie un denier, *Cour. L.*, 143. Il n'i laissa vaillissant un denier, *Mort Garin*, 4360. Li turneiz d'her | N'amunte pas a un dener, *Ip.*, 5357. Ne tint plet ke vaille un dener, *Joseph*, 304. Ne se puet grever .ii. deniers, *Fab.*, ii. 259. Ne pris .i. seul denier vaillant, *ib.*, ii. 101. Ne vaudroit-il pas deus deniers, *R. Rose*, ii. p. 95. Jà n'en prendrai une maille, *Tr.*, i. 140. De moi n'enportera qui valle | .i. sol sterlint n'une maalle, *ib.*, i. 189. Mar i perdra vaillant une maaille, *Cour. L.*, 2372, 2394, 2418. Onques de li n'aprirent

maillie ne denrée, *Berte*, 2486. Ke nesun de tuz al fel vaut un maille, *Pol. Songs*, p. 294. N'a vèvre feme vaillant un angevin, *Cour. L.*, 156. Ne perdroie vaillant un angevin, *Mort Garin*, 13. Ne li valut vaillant un angevin, *ib.*, p. 6, also 4688. Onques n'en eut del nostre vaillant une angevine, *Elie*, 898. As autres biens qui sont forains | N'as-tu pas vaillant deux florins, *R. Rose*, 5354 (variant). Que tu n'avoies pas vestu | Vaillant .iii. sols, *Fab.*, ii. 259. Mais ainc n'en vorrent prendre la monte d'un soller, *Berte*, 133. Par Mahomet ! ne vaus un romoisin, *Prise d'Or.*, 1513. Tu puisses conquerre vaillant .i. paresis, *Elie*, 161. Moult a ocs de Turs et de Persanz | Mès ne li monte le pris de .ii. besanz, *Alesc.*, 16 (also Provençal). Sē il aidoit au duc la monte d'un besant, *Aymon*, p. 5, p. 19. De si faite vantise ne donroie un besant, *Pol. P.*, i. 21. N'avez mie ensanble | Qui vaille .x. tournois clavez, *Fab.*, iii. 60. Qui ne valurent une tartre, *R. Rose*, 13426.

feather: Or þat accounted conscience at a cokkes fether or an hennes, *P. Pl.*, B. xix. 10.

Ne li haubers la plume d'un poucin, *Enf. Og.*, 5954. Cf. Provenç. S'avian col de ferr o d'acier | Nols valria une pluma de pan [= peacock's feather], P. Vidal, *Dragoman* (S.). Ils ne crient l'assaut, le creste de .ii. cos, *Alexand.* (*Bat. des Grecs*), 363.

fig: Ffor þis ilke resoun : nys nouȝt worþ a fyge, *Barl. and Jos.*, 974 [H.].

Tu ne sez vaillant une figue, *Fab.*, i. p. 5. (Also Provençal.)

fern: No ȝaf he ther of nouȝt a ferne, *A. and M.*, 8866.

Que li haubers ne vaut une espanière | Né li escuz le rein d'une feuchière, *Alesc.*, 640. Ne li valut la targe une espanière, | La vielle broigne, le rain d'une fochière, *Alesc.*, 1687.

fille [= chervil, wild thyme]: Vor icham of kinges icome & bou nart worþ a fille, R. G., *Ch.*, 2722. Anuge hire worþ a fille, *St. Mark.*, 146. Ac, þo he was henne idrive, hit uas not worþ a fille, *Patr.* 572 in A. E. L. ed. Horstmann, p. 202 [H.].

French equivalents are analogous: *mauve*, *glai*, *ciguë*, *seu* [= sureau], &c. A cesti n'en savons la montance d'un glai, *Berte*, 1390.

flower (roseflower): They woll not giue a rose floure, *Pol. P.*, i. 326.

Dont li menor ne prisent tot le mont une flor, *Alexand.* (*Assaut*), 21. Car ne vaut lur poissance un butun d'eglenter, *St. Aub.*, 1671.

fly, **gnat**. Ywys noȝt worþ a flye, R. G., *Ch.*, 8815. We wolde nouȝt gyue two flyes, *R. Cœur de L.*, 2502 (Web.) [H.]. Aleyn answerd, 'I count it nat a flye,' Ch., *Rev. T.*, 272. And all thaire fare noȝt wruth a flye, (Minot) *Pol. P.*, i. 59.

Ne valent mès ti cop un haneton, *Cour. L.*, 1052. Beax fils, ne pris un henneton | losange n'amor de bricon, *Fab. et Cont.* (Barbazan), ii. 65.

funk [= spark]: Dat was not worth a fonk, R. B., Ch., Hearne, i. 172 (ed. 1825).

Ne espandi ni rai ne lumere, *St. Aubin*, 255. Cf. 'blenk,' 'lueur,' q.v.

glove: Bot til unskil noght worth a glove, C. M. (Cot.) 26991.

Jà de la moie n'auroiz plain un gant, *Char. de Ny.*, 626 (also Provençal). Unkes li granz servise ne li valut un gant, *Rou*, 2022. Ne valt la coiffe un viez gant descosu, *Alesc.*, 1271. Sanz lui ne pris ma vie un gant, *G. de P.*, 2800. Que je ne pris mie un gant, *R. u. P.*, iii. 14, 40. Ne feroie pour Karles la montance d'un gant, *Aymon*, p. 19.

gnat: Nought worth to the as in comparisoun | The mountauns of a gnat, Ch., *Man. T.*, 150. Such matters be no worth a gnatte, *Pol. P.*, i. 317. See 'fly, gnat.'

grain: Get no greyne of his grete wittis, *P. Pl.*, (B.) x. 139.

Ce ne vaudroit un grain de poivre, *R. Rose*, i. p. 192. See 'corn.'

groat: I wolde sette at al this noyse a grote, Ch., *Tr. a. Cr.*, 558. And not to grucchen a grott | Aȝeine Godis sonde, *Pol. P.*, i. 370. See 'farthing.'

gru = atom? or more probably OFr. *gru* = *grain*, q. v. 'les bles, orges, grus, pois, feves' (God.), 1391. Cf. Du Cange, *grust* (14 cent.), *grutum*, *grudum*, malted grain. Ischal gruch þe no grwe, *G. and G. K.*, 2451. And not one grue lenger, *De Erk.*, 319. And of þe godness of God noȝt a grew traisted, *Alex.* (Ashm.), 3270 [H.].

hair: That nis worth one of hire heare, *O. and N.*, 1548. Helpeth nouȝt to heueneward one heres ende, *P. Pl.*, (B) x. 334.

Ne prise pas une cheuele | Quant que li ai dit ne promise, *Ste. Marg.*, 116.

haw: Bi men of religion, and al nas wurþ an hawe, R. G., Ch., 10767. Of alle pine mite ne yeued he word an hawe, *Meid. Marg.*, 70, in *A. E. L.*, N. F., ed. Horstmann, p. 491 [H.]. Bote þai availede not an hawe, *Alex.*, 581. But al be of þe newe aget, hit is not worþ an hawe, *A Disp.*, 282.

Nel prisast il une cenele, *Cligés*, 6634. Onques nel sorporta vaillant une chenele, *Elie*, 2111.

hay: It be nouȝt worth a botel hay, Ch., *Manc. Prol.*, 14.

Cf. 'botteler du foin,' 'botte de foin.' Vnc ne dutai chastel plus qu'un muilun de fein, *Wace*, *Rou*, ii. 497.

hen: He ȝaf not of that text a pulled hen, Ch., *Prol. C. T.*, 177. Arrogaunce is not worth an hen, Ch., *W. of B. T.*, 256. Her estate is not worth a hen, *R. of R.*, 6858.

Cf., Nel puet tenir haubers ne c'uns poulé, *Bu. de C.*, 3541. 'pulled,' which has been a crux, is well explained by a corresponding use of 'pile' in French. Cf. 'Pois pilez,' peu de chose (Oudin) (La C.). Je me tieg à pois pilez, *Poet. av.* 1300, ii. p. 835 (La C.). Cf. also 'oef pele,' *Char. de Ny.*, 428.

herring: Hit nere on ende wrþ on heryng, *Luve R.*, 86; EETS. 45, p. 95 [H.].

Qu'il n'ont pas vaillant une sèche, *R. Rose*, ii. p. 17. Que je ne pris sa franchise une truite, Machault, p. 89. Je n'ai vaillant une vendoise, Barbazan, *Fab. et Cont.*, iv. 480 (S.).

hip: Of hem ne yive I nowt an hepe, *Seven Sages*, 2535 (Web.) [H.]. Cf. 'rose (églantier) flower,' and Provenç., No s prezaria un aguilén, Pierre d'Auvergne, *Chantarai*.

herbs (panier of): I counte nokht a panyer ful of herbes | Of scole termes, Ch., *Mar. T.*, 324. OFr. expressions are analogous.

jane (Genoese coin): Ay ful of clappingn, dere y-nough a jane, Ch., *Cl. T.*, 61. Cf. 'farthing.'

leaf, ivy-leaf: That all mis worth an yvy lefe, Gower, *Conf. Aman.*, P. ii. p. 21, 14 [H.].

Ne li valut pas une fueille d'iere, *Enf. Og.*, 5439. Tout ce ne prise Berte une fueille de mente [= mint], *Berte*, 2685. C'or ne sevent sans lui le montant d'une fueille, *Alexan.* (*Mal. d'Alix.*), 106. Ne vaut . . . la fueille d'un séu (elder), *Alesc.*, 6473. 'Jeo ne me pris,' dist Rou, une fuille de col, Wace, *Rou*, ii. 347.

leek, leek's blade: Thi voyage es noht worth a leke, *Met. Hom.*, Sm., p. 54, l. 10 [H.]. Sche seyde: 'My lyf ys not worþ a lek,' *Oct.*, 1313 (SE). And seyde, they yeven noght a leek, Ch., *H. of F.*, 1708.

N'i avez vaillant une cive, *R. Rose*, i. 177. Vaillant un ail, *ib.*, 72; God. de P., 3094. Qu'il ne vaut i. pourrit ognon, Machault, *Œuvres*, p. 82.

'leek's blade': Ys not worth a lekys blade, *Child. o. Br.*, 8 (Hazl., p. 11) [H.]. Cf. use of brin, festu, paile, for 'blade.'

'leekes clof.' Clove = gousse d'aie = aillie, alie: Des or ne pris mes un alie, Wace, *Nicholas*, 1257. N'i dorroie une alie, Ch. de Ny., 1307. See 'cod.'

louse: Him semede it nas nogt worþ a lous | Bateyl wyþ him to wage, *Ferumb.*, 439.

OFr. parallel not noted; cf. turd.

mite [= small copper coin of Flanders, La C.]: Thomas, that jape is not worþ a myte, Ch., *Sompn. T.*, 253; *K. Tale*, 700. Schal no deuel at his dep-day deren him worþ a myte, *P. Pl.*, A. viii. 54. Thy mendez mountez not a myte, *Pearl*, 30, 3. Never to weld of worldes merþ þe woþ of a mite, *Wm. of P.*, 2017. Half a mite, *ib.*, 5348.

Le renclus a un povre hermite | U il n'avoit tite ne mite [1288], *Ren. le Nou.*, 7607, Méon (God.). Mes tu n'as vaillant quatre mites, *R. u. P.*, iii. 60, 68. See also OFr. equivalents under 'farthing.'

mote: þaz no schaft mugt þe mountaunce of a lyttel mote,

vpon þat man schyne, *Pa.*, 456. Þat no man mist of hem finde a mot, *Body and Soul*, 163.

Cf. OFr. neg. mie (< micam), crumb, small particle.

needle: Soche willers witte is not worth a nelde, *Pol. P.*, i. 327.

Fors le Mans n'ot plus une aguille, G. Guiart, MS. fol. 9 R^o (La C.). Son païs ne proisse une agulle, (1243) Ph. Mouskes, *Chronique*, 17056.

nut: He ne yaf a note of his opes, *Hav.*, 419. Haue þou nouth þer-offe douth | Nouih þe worth of one nouthe, *ib.*, 1331.

Ne mei ne riens qui à mei teigne | Lo vaillissant d'une chataigne, *Troie*, 16851. Que tout ce ne vaut une nouiz, Boron, *Graal*, 1930. Ne prisen une noiz de coudre [= walnut] | Bone amor ne sa seignorie, *La Poire*, 1260. Que le vaillant d'une castaigne | De vos moebles ne vos remaigne, *A.N. Ch.*, iii. p. 45 (also Provençal). Ne pris tant ne quant | Ne q'une noisete, *R. u. P.*, ii. 71, 59. Li Escuiers ii nois ne prise | Tout ce ..., *Fab.*, ii. 55. Car ne prisoit pas une amande, *ib.*, iv. 137. Il ne donroient de vo danger .ii. nois, *Auberi*, 27, 4.

oyster: But thilke text held he nat worth an oistre, *Ch.*, *Prol. C. T.*, 182.

Suggested by: Car ne prisen le monde la montance d'une oistre, Jean de Meun, *Testament*, ed. Méon, 1167.

pan: The begger that the crust ssal hab, | Wel hokerlich he lokith theran: | Soth to sigge, and noȝt to gabbe, | Rȝt noȝt he is i-paide a pan, *Pol. S.*, p. 204 (*On the Time*).

Hein treats 'pan' under 'Gerätschaften und teile derselben.' This is rather panne, AS. panne < L. ? *patina*, of which see numerous examples in S-B. But pan(e) < OFr. *pan(e)*, *panne* < L. *pannus* = piece, patch, garment, pane, and so is used in a parallel way with: Ausi le trenche com i. pan de cendal, *Auberi*, 219, 14. Ausi li trenche com i. pan de burel, *ib.*, 225, 31. Ne li volut la targe une espanière, *Alesc.*, 1687. Ausi li ront com un pant d'auqueton, *ib.*, 6754. The expression may, however, be simply OFr. à pan, thoroughly.

pear: For euery gadlyng not wurþ a pere, R. B., *Hand. S.*, 769. And al thaire pomp noȝt worth a pere, *Pol. P.*, i. 59 (Minot). It shulde not apeire him a peire, *ib.*, i. 372. Ne schalt þow lese noȝt þe worthy of a pere, *Ferumb.*, 5721 [H.]. I charge it not a pere, *P. of Sus.*, 247.

Tot ce ne pris une poire porrie, *Mort Garin*, 2075. La mort ne crains ny enfer une poire, *Les Marg. de la Marg.*, f. 66 (La C.). Que ja n'i aura gaaingnié | A son oes vaillant une poire, *Fab.*, iii. 42.

pease: A pese nys worth thi riche slander, *Alis.* (B), v. 5959 [H.]. Al þis worldes blisse | Nis nout worþ a peose, *Body and Soul*, 241. And sain, the pope is not worth a pease, *Pol. P.*, i. 339.

Vostre escondit n'i vaut un pois, *Tr.*, i. 40. Qu'el abatist de l'elme tant | ki amontast un peis pesant, *Eneas*, 4433. Eureues ont perdu, n'i prist vaillant vn peis, *Wace*, *Rou*, ii. 4144. Tu ne sai pas vaillant un pois, *Fab.*, i. 6. Ne . . . deus chiches, *R. Rose*, i. p. 324. Que l'escus ne l'auberc ne li valent i. pois, *Aymon*, p. 76. Ge ne priseroie trois chiches, *R. Rose*, i. 230. N'il ne doit or prisier ii. chiches, *Machault*, p. 103.

penny: Nolde ich yeven enne peni for his weden alle, *Rel. Songs*, p. 71.

For French equivalents see under 'farthing.'

pie-hele [= pie-crust]: I nolde ȝeve for pi pardoun one pihe hele! *P. Pl.* (A), viii. 181. (B), pies hele.

Cf., Ne mie ne croste = rien du tout, *Jeh. des Preis*, in God. Souffrir ne veult qu'il en ait crote, ou mie, *Eust. Desch.*, Poës. MSS., fol. 44 (La C.). De tel noblece ja deux miches | Ne donnassent se l'avoir n'eussent, *Ch. de Pisan* (God., miche = miette). This use of *mie* has remained in Normandy. Lor gens n'i valu I. gastiel, *Ph. Mouskes*, 16813. Note, however, that OFr. pie = un rien: N'ot pas une pie, *Jeh. des Preis*, in God. Li haubers de sen dos ne li vaut une pie, *Alexand. (Bat. des Grecs)*, 112.

pilling [= bark]: He sett þe lawes of Cristyantee nott at a pillynge of a tree, *Row. and Ot.*, 129.

Ne prisiés trestout une escorce, *R. Rose*, i. 256 (also Provençal). Qu'il ni prisent fust ne escorce, *Ph. Mouskes*, *Ch.*, 12832.

pin: þou spekest not worth a pynne, *Ch.*, *C. of L.*, 1078. O, said he, noe matter a pin what they preache, *Comp. v. Cons.*, 117 [H.]

Qui onques n'i conqueresterent la montance d'une pine, *Geste des ducs de Bourg.*, p. 260 (Chron. belg.) (God.).

point, prick: Was noȝt a poynt to þat fairnes, *Pr. of C.*, 8700. That in so mekyll sayrenes forgete | That ne hade poynte of prowes sete, *Ip.*, 693. Off dede was not a poynte to þis, *ib.*, 3852. Ne moi nouȝt gon furðer a pricke, *A. R.*, 228.

Mais li cuers lui failloit, où n'ot point de faintise, *Berte*, 805. Sans point de delaie, *Fab.*, i. 235. Qu'il n'est point de chalaunge, *Pol. Songs*, *Bel Eyse*, 49. This is, of course, the most usual emphatic negation in OFr.

rake's steel: But that tale is not worth a rake's stele, *Ch.*, *W. of B. T.*, 93.

Cf., N'i ai conquis vaillant un fer de lance, *Ch. de Ny.*, 278. Qui n'a argent, l'on n'en tient compte | Nem plus que d'une vieille pelle, *Dialogue du Mondain*, cited by Roquefort, Gloss. ii. p. 232 (S.). Ne l'enpira vaillant un esperon, *Cour. Louis*, 1052; *Wace*, *Rou*, ii. 1697.

rush: Heo þat ben Curset in Constorie—connteb: . . . not at a

Russche, *P. Pl.* (A.), iii. 137. Ne douteþ he kynd or Emperour þe value of a ryssche, *Ferum.*, 124. Ne more for the faire sole, then for a rissh rote, *Av. of A.*, 552.

Ne li valut un jone marage, *G. de P.*, 6617.

scale, shell: paire spectre is noȝt worþ a shele, *C. M.* (F.), 23, 828. In G. note-schell.

Ne li valu li haumes une escaille, *Enf. Og.*, 5419. Vostre orguel ne vaut une coque, *R. Rose*, i. 216. Ne prisiés trestout une escorce, *ib.*, i. 256.

shoe: It is not worthe an old scho, *Debate of Carp. Tools*, 182, Haz., *Remains*, i. 85 [H.]. For though a widewe hadde noȝt oo schoo, Ch., *Prol. C. T.*, 253.

Chevaus, or et argent leur fist-on présenter | Mais ainc n'en vourent prendre la monte d'un soulier, *Berte*, p. 9. Ecil li respondi: Ne me pris une bote | S'ancois ne vois al branc commencier une note | C'onques encor Bretons ne fist tele en sa rote, *Alexand. (Fuerres)*, 142.

sloe: This lives blisse nis wurdh a slo, *Rel. S.*, ii. Of me ne is me nouth a slo, *Hav.*, 849. Sir, þer of ȝiue y nougt a slo, *A. and A.*, 395.

Que je loi lais vaillant une parnele, *Raoul de Cambrai*, 48 (L.).

stick (of bread): We ȝeveð uncēðe for his lufe a sticcke of ure brede, *Poem. Mor.*, 191 (*O.E. Misc.*).

Cf., Ne nc le prisera ii. pains, *Fab.*, iii. 158. Li escus de son col ne li valu un pain, *Rom. d'Alexandre*, p. 164 (S.).

stick, a fir-stick: Was nouth worth a fir sticke, *Hav.*, 966.

Par foi n'i donroie une bille | Ce dit Tibert, en els n'en toi, *Roman de Renart*, iii. p. 31 (S.). A dont ne le prise une bille, *Fab.*, iii. 56. N'i prisent fust ne escorce, Ph. Mouskes, *Ch.*, 12832. Tout ne me vaudrait une bille, *R. Rose*, i. p. 310. Ne lesserent une bille, *Pol. S.*, p. 62. Ne pris . . . un fuisel, *Bu. de C.*, 2633. Une astele, *Enf. Og.*, 5968.

stime (= glimpse?): Noþer he ete þwa three dais time | Ne he iwiss moght see a stime, *C. M.* (Cot.), 19649. Also smite, in the same sense; cf. 'blenk,' 'funk.'

scaloun [onion, ModFr. échalote, Eng. shallot]: He seyde, Hy ner worþ a scaloun¹, *Ocl.*, 1313 (SE.). For thy lyff and thy barouns | He wyll not geve two skalouns¹, *R. Cœur de L.*, 6834.

N'en i remaindrat ja pesant une escalingne, *Pèl. de Ch.*, 575. Qu'el n'aime mie un' escaloigne, *Fab.*, i. 305. Chi ne ferés vous vos besoigne | Vaillant le pris d'une escaillonge, *ib.*, ii. 52; *En. Og.*, 5457.

straw: Þeroþ ne ȝaf he nouth a stre, *Hav.*, 315. He wold

¹ Sarrazin explains as 'Schilling, nicht bei Stratmann. Vergl. Rich. Cœur de Lion, v. 6834.' Hein follows Sarrazin's error, classing 'scaloun' under 'Münze,' *Anglia*, xv. 144.

nocht pris his liss a stra, *Bruce*, vi. 505. I sette not a straw by thy dremynges, Ch., *N. P. T.*, 270. For he counted not thre strees | Of nougat that Fortune coude do, Ch., *Duch.*, 718. By his sare set he nougat a stra, *Y. and G.*, 2685.

La veille broigne ne li valut un paile, *Cour. L.*, 909. Ne donroient de moi la monte d'un festu, *Berte*, 1293. Ki n'ot cure de leur desrois | Ne qui lor grevast uns festue, *Mouskes*, fol. 81 (La C.). Par mi son elme, mès n'enpire un festu, *Alesc.*, 310. Mais ne lor vaut lor forche valissant à festu, *Elie*, 789. L'entreprise qu'il maintient ne m'est un seul brin agréable, *Dom. Flor. de Grèce*, fol. 137 (La C.).

tare: Ne sette I nougat the monntance of a tare, Ch., *K. Tale*, 713. Of al here art ne counte I nat a tare, Ch., *Reves T.*, 136. ModFr. *ivraie* was not used before 16th cent. (L.), but another sort is *vesce*, see 'vetch.'

thread: Nes þe þwong noht swiðe bræd : | buten swulc a twines þraed, *Laz.*, 14220.

Que vos ne troverez à s'mois | Conte, prince ne chasteleine | Qui vos forse un fil de leine, *Rom. de Ren.*, 10844.

turd: A tort ne giue ich for ow alle, *O. and N.*, 1684. Thy drasty ryming is not worth a tord, Ch., *Pr. to Mel.*, 12.

OFr. equivalents I have not found—the absence is significant.

twinkling, wink: Ne lasteth not the twynkelyng of an eye, Ch., *Comp. of M.*, 222.

Esvanouir à un clin d'œil, Pasq., *Rech.*, iii. xxix. (God.).

twynte = iota? And tymed no twynte but tot'led her cornes, *Rich. Red.*, iii. 81 [H.].

French equivalents cannot be adduced until the meaning of twynte is established.

vetch: This seyde is bi hem that ben nougat worth two fecches, Ch., *Tr. and Cr.*, 887.

Ne li lairai de tiere vallant un grain de vecce, *Le Roman d'Alexandre*, p. 412 (L., suppl.).

wing (goosewing): Þei ne gyueth nougat of god one goose wyng, *P. Pl.* (B.), iv. 36.

Cf., Onc vaillant l'èle d'un pinçon | N'oï je voir, se de l'autrui non, *Rom. de Renart*, 13035. Ne je ne pris un bec de jay, Machault, *Oeuvres*, p. 7.

CHRONOLOGY. The close concord of MidE. with French, even as late as 1400, at which date I cease quotations, is remarkable, and, considering the infinite number of objects which might have been drawn on, if English had pursued an independent course, a sure proof of the influence of OFr. This agreement is still more striking if we view the parallel expressions chronologically. I limit

the English lists at (a) 1250, (b) 1300, (c) 1350. By 1350 the native genius had achieved full consciousness of its own individuality, and the language become a conscious artistic medium. The invention of new negative phrases is henceforth a matter of rhetoric.

(a) English examples 1200-1250, and earlier French parallels : fille, *Marh.*; c. 1150, cf. feuchère, *Alesc.* hawe, *Meid. Marh.*; c. 1165, cenele, *Clig's.*, *Elie.* heryng, *Luve R.*; 1100-1300, vendoise, *Fabliaux*; 1277, seche, *R. Rose.* sloe, *Oris.*; 12 cent., parnele (= prunelle), *Raoul de C.* stick of bread, *Poem. Mor.*; 12 cent., pain, *Alexandre*; 11-13 cent., pain, in *Fabliaux*. thread, *La3.*; c. 1200, *Rom. d. Ren.*

I omit *handhwil*, given by Hein, as having no figurative value.

(b) English examples 1250-1300, with earlier French parallels : 1250-1300, here, *O. and N.*; 1st third of 12 cent., chevele, *Vie de Marg.* c. 1280, fir stick, *Hav.*; c. 1263, bille, *Pol. S.* c. 1280, straw, *Hav.*; c. 1150, paile, *Cour. L.* c. 1280, note, *Hav.*; c. 1260, castaigne, *La Poire.* 1275-1300, groat, *Kind. Jes.*; c. 1150, maille, *Cour. L.*; c. 1080, denier, *Ch. de R.* 1250-1300, penny, *Relig. S.*; c. 1150, angevin, *Cour. L.* c. 1280, farthinges nok, *Hav.*; c. 1150, maille, *Cour. L.* 1250-1300, tort, *O. and N.*

From Hein's list I except 'foot' as a measure of space, devoid of figurative value; and 'twinkling' as not used negatively in extant literature before Chaucer.

(c) English examples 1300-1350, with earlier French parallels : c. 1300, flye, *R. T.*; c. 1150, haneton, *Cour. L.* 1303, gloue, *C. M.*; c. 1150, gant, *Alesc.*; *Rou.* 1320-30, boutoun, *G. of W.*; c. 1150, bouton, *Clef d'A.* 1320-30, brustle, *R. a. Vern.*; before 1236, poil, pelet, de Coinci. c. 1340, clete, *Oct. NE.*; (no OFr. parallel noted). 1320-30, ferne, *A. and M.*; c. 1150, fouchère, *Alesc.* c. 1338, cod, R. of Brunne, *Ch.*; 12 cent., alie (of garlic), *Mort Garin.* c. 1300, bene, *R. G.*; 1225-40, feve, poems of Thibaud; 1160-74, peis, *Rou.* 1320-1330, ay (egg), *Trist.*; 1st third of 12 cent., oef, *Ch. de Ny.* 1303, shell, *C. M.*; 1167-1200, escaille, *Enfances Ogier.* c. 1340, scaloun, *Oct.*; c. 1060, escaligne, *Pèl. de Ch.* 1320-30, hepe, *Seven Sages*; 1236-50, cf. butun d'eglenter, *St. Aub.* -1350, pese, *Body and Soul*; 1160-74, peis, *Rou.* Beg. of 14 cent., pan, *On the Time*; 13 cent., pan, *Auberi.* c. 1340, mite, *Wm. of P.*; 1288, mite, *Ren. le Nouv.* c. 1338, fonk, R. B., *Chronicle*; 12 cent., lueur, *Cov. Vivian.* 1340-8, point, *Pr. of Con.*; 12 cent., point, *Ronces.* 1320-30, cherry-stone, *G. of W.*; 11-13 cent., pierre, *Fab.*; cerise, *Lives Ed. Conf.* 1303, stime, *C. M.*; 12 cent., cf. lueur, goutte, etc., *Cov. Vivian.* 1303, smitte, *C. M.*; 1303, blenk, *ib.*; 12 cent., lueur, *Cov. Vivian.* 1310-30, wynk, *Met. Hom.*; clin d'œil, *Pasq.* 1320-30, lekes close, *G. of W.*; 1st third of 12 cent., alie, *Ch. de Ny.* 1303, rush, *C. M.*; c. 1205, jонс marage, *Gu. de P.*

I omit 'trenchur,' in Hein's list, as not a figurative negative.

Form. In addition to the evidence of content of expression and the uniform priority in point of use of the French expressions, there is the evidence of a remarkable agreement in the form of the negative expressions of MidE. and OFr. :—

i. *be worth*: (a) Al nas wurth a bene, R. G., *Ch.*, 10223; (b) Ne vaillede him nouȝt worþ a botoun, *B. of H.*, 1004. *valoir*: (a) S'il ne valt une bele pume, *Ip.*, 8407; (b) Onques nel sorporta vaillant une chenele, *Elie*, 2111.

ii. *mountance*: Nouȝt but þe mountance of a corn of whete, Ch., *Pr. T.*, 402. *montance*: Mais ne li vaut la montance d'un pois, *R. de Cambr.*, 3397.

iii. *give, &c.*: No ȝaf he ther of nouȝt a ferne, *A. and M.*, 8866. *donner, &c.*: De touz lur manaces ne dorrai un denier, *Pol. Songs*, 233 (Ed. I.).

iv. Verbs of estimating, such as *set*: I sette not a straw by thy dremynges, Ch., *N. P. T.*, 270. *priser*: Ne prisa mais noz deus à valor d'un gant, *St. Aub.*, 1162.

v. As negative expressions limiting verbs of action: Ne he iwiss moght se a stime, *C. M.*, 19652. Et gute ne vedet, *Rois*, p. 48 (L.).

Negations of MHG. The almost parallel conditions of MHG. furnish evidence by analogy. For the fifty or sixty figurative negations of MHG. that Zingerle brings together, exact French equivalents can in almost every single instance be adduced, and of any earlier date than the time at which the German expressions occur. 'Derartige Negationen,' says Zingerle, 'drängten sich erst gegen das Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts vor. Früheren Dichtungen, z. B. dem Alexanderliede [c. 1130], der Kaiserchronik [goes to 1147], Wernher's [† 1266] drei Liedern, u. a. waren sie beinahe noch unbekannt. Allein selbst im 13. Jahrhunderte, in dem diese bildliche Verstärkung ihre grösste Verbreitung erlangte, drang sie nicht überall gleichmässig durch. Am zahlreichsten begegnen sie uns bei den höfischen Dichtern, die dem Beispiele des bewunderten Heinrich von Vedecke, der selbst solche Bilder (blat, bast, ei) liebte, auch hierin gefolgt sind,' u. s., p. 477. French influence was, it is well known, paramount throughout the whole period from the *Alexanderlied*, and most effective in the court poetry. Zingerle notes the geographical distribution of these negations: 'In Baiern, Franken, Schwaben und Österreich kamen diese bildlichen Verneinungen in ungeahnter Fülle vor, während sie in Mittel- und Niederdeutschland viel spärlicher sich fanden.' Grimm supposed the German

influenced the French: 'Mir scheint die ital. und span. Sprache seien in solchen bildlichen Negationen enthaltsamer als die provenz. und französische, woher ich wiederum den näheren Einfluss der deutschen auf letztere anschlagen möchte,' 'Deut. Gramm.', iii. 750. Instead of that being the case, the character and chronology of MHG. negations give the strongest grounds for explaining their origin from the immediate influence of the French.

CONCLUSION. To resume: On the one hand, Gen. Germanic strengthened its negation *ne* by (Goth) (*ni-*) *waft*, < **wihi-*, meaning probably 'thing' (Kluge, *Wicht*). AS., at its latest period, advanced beyond that only to substitute *þing* for *wiht*. It approached a true figurative negation only in the term *handhwil* used affirmatively: 'It is not for you to know the hour or the moment (*handhwil*) that my Father hath appointed,' Thorpe, *Hom.* i. 294, 26; and in using *fōt* with a verb of motion. On the other hand, Latin possessed these figurative negations in some abundance, which the Romance languages developed to an immense extent¹. Again, the character and chronology of MHG. negations, which show a parallel development with English, point to their French origin, just as the literature in which they first show themselves has in the main Romance substance and colouring. Finally, we have the phenomena of the MidE. negations, (1) that they show themselves slightly in the early years of the thirteenth century, increasing in number during the second half, but attaining great variety and power only at the close of the century and during the first half of the fourteenth century, being therefore in substantial agreement with the movement of Fr. loan-words into English; (2) that, before they begin to occur in MidE., Norman French swarms with figurative negations; (3) that the E. MidE. negations stand in complete agreement of form and, in spite of the temptation of genius or the caprice of individual writers, in most substantial agreement of content with OFr. negations: it is therefore certain, I believe, that our figurative negations are an immediate result of the paramount influence of OFr. on MidE. Doubtless the English language of itself could have developed this form of expression, but—to parallel Dr. Boteler's remark concerning the strawberry—doubtless the English language never did.

¹ Parmi ces négations [i. e. of Latin], quelques-unes sont à noter plus spécialement, parce qu'elles semblent être le germe d'expressions très-analogues, en grand usage plus tard dans les langues romanes,' Schweighäuser, p. 206 (vol. of 1851).

III. PHRASAL POWER OF THE PRE- POSITION: AT-PHRASES

ENGLISH has shown in its borrowings a special partiality for nice modifications of verbal notions, especially those in phrasal form. French à-phrases have been peculiarly acceptable to it, witness the many adoptions in the modern language: à bas! à bras ouvert, à cheval, à contre-coeur, à discretion, à fond, à la française, à la mode, à merveille, à outrance, à propos or apropos, à ravir, &c. (see the 'Stanford Dict.'). In the formative period of English, OFr. à, possessed of a vast phrasal power, met in AS. æt an ineffective instrument of translation, for the phrasal power of æt was far less extensive, far less subtle. A portion of the phrasal wealth of à was taken over by 'to,' the usual native equivalent of it, whenever à conveyed the idea of motion towards. But, on the other hand, the on-phrases of AS. tended in part to become at-phrases, doubtless because of the slight phrasal value of OFr. sur, and the virtual restriction of its notion to position above. In some cases the OFr. à-phrases seemed to have been passed into MidE. without change:—à l'arme: alarme! alarme quaþ þat Lorde, Lang., *P. Pl.* (C), xxiii, 92. OFr., Si tost c'om crie à l'arme! *Brun de la M.*, 3075 (God.). à part: Adrow him apart þanne and saide, *Sir Ferumb.*, 636. And drinke piement and ale apart, *Pol. P.*, i, 316. OFr., A donc se tirent chascun a part, fiers et esmeus l'ung contre l'autre, *Percef.*, iii, f. 5 [La C.]. A une part ont le roi trait, *Tr.*, i, 31. à force: þan felle it a-forse to ffille hem aȝeyne, Lang., *Rich. Red.*, iv, 21. OFr., L'en a fait à force mener, *Tr.*, 48. À force ne préist, Wace, *Brut*, 3311. And even à bandon in the early instance cited below (p. 44). But in the main our language undertook to assimilate a great part of the phrasal power of à, an effort furthered, it may be, by the not inconsiderable phrasal use of ON. at. As a result of this effort we see in MidE. a vast exten-

sion of its plural use, under the stimulus and after the example of OFr. à-phrases.

AS. *ÆT*. *Æt* in AS. was confined in use almost entirely to the expression of nearness in local and temporal phrases. Its uses may be classified in detail as follows :—
 i. Nearness in local position.
 (1) *a.* with common nouns: *Æt þære sá láran*, *Mark*, iv. 1. Ac heora geséran æt ham suhton, *Æ.*, *Lives*, xxv. 455. *b.* with proper nouns: æt Mæretúne, *A.S. Ch.* (Parker), 871. Idiomatically with dat. pl.: ‘*ðe mon háet æt Hædum*,’ *Oros.*, i. § 19. Cf. ‘Atterbury’ in MidE.
 (2) At an occurrence or event, present or participating: *Bæd hine blíðne · æt þære bér-pege*, *Beo.*, 618.
 (3) Indicating the part of an object affected: *Hire æt heortan læg æppel unsélga*, *Cæd.*, *Gen.*, 636 (NED).
 (4) Indicating the relation of an attribute to the part affected: *Wæs seo tréow lufu hát æt heortan*, *Chr.*, 539 (B-T).
 (5) Indicating the part or point at which entrance or exit is effected: *þa tó duru éodon dríhlíce cempan ond æt 6ðrum durum Ordlað ond Gúðláf*, *Bat. of Finnsb.*, 14.
 (6) Attainment of position, with verbs of motion: *a.* to,—*Ge ne comon æt me*, *Matt.* xxv. 43. *b.* as far as,—*And hine besencton on þa fyrenan éa æt his cneowa*, *B. Hom.*, p. 43.
 (7) Motion directed towards, often with hostile intent: *Ne mihton hi áwiht æt me áfre gewyrcean*, *Ps. (Th.)* cxxviii. 1 (B-T). *Deaðes wylm hrán æt heortan*, *Beo.*, 2271.
 (8) The source from which anything comes, at which we seek it. Hence especially used with verbs of asking and depriving: *Ic gebád grynná æt Grendle*, *Beo.*, 931. And *þa bysena þe hie æt his dædum gesawon*, *B. Hom.*, p. 119. *Hwæt axast ðu æt us*, *Æ.*, *Lives*, xxv. 112.
 (9) Hence with ‘gelang’ to indicate dependence: *Æt þam wæs gelang eall heora foda*, *Æ.*, *Lives*, xxiii. 218.
 (10) The idea of nearness is conjoined with that of source: *þæt deofolseoce æt his reliquium wæron gelacnod*, *Bede*, 14, 26. *Wearð ácweald æt his witena handum*, *Æ.*, *Hom. St. John*.
 (11) The idea of source passes to that of agency (of persons): *Wæron gemartyrode æt þam manfullan nero*, *Æ.*, *Lives*, xxix. 116.
 (12) The idea of nearness, approach, passes to that of application: *þær hi æt lare wæror*, *Æ.*, *Lives*, xxix. 10.
 (13) Hence the destination, object: *Neb bið hyre æt nytte*, *Rd.*, 12, 5.
 (14) The idea of nearness involves effect on (= ‘with respect to’): *Yonne hwæþere æt þære halgan Elizabet seo hire gebýrd naht gemunan*, *B. Hom.*, 163.—
 ii. Temporal relations.
 (15) Nearness indicated by words marking periods of times; such as, *æt þa endlystan tíd þæs dæges*, *B. Hom.*, p. 93; *æt þaem ytmestan dæge*, *ib.*, p. 51; *æt sumum cyrre [at certain season]*, *Æ.*, *Lives*, xxiii. 16; *æt téfen*, *B. Hom.*, p. 91.
 (16) By words indicating a regularly recurring action or state, hence used as time-marks: *æt sunnan setlgange*, *B. Hom.*, p. 93; *ælce niht æt uhtsange*, *B. R.*, 39, 16.
 (17) By words indicating action or state: *Fylston éow æt nýdpearfe*, *Deut.*, xxxii. 28.
 (18) Or indi-

cating a stage in the progress of an action or state: þu us æt ende-stæfe mycel here-reaf gehéte, *B. Hom.*, p. 85; æt frumsceaste, at the beginning; æt ende, at end. (19) Note here the use of certain superlatives: And nicánor æt fruman feoll þær ofslagen, *Æ.*, *Lives*, xxv. 632. And het ða æt nextan þa hæðenan cwelleras . . . ingan, *ib.*, xxiv. 61. Æt færestan, *Laws of K. Alf.*, pol. i. And nū æt sñdestan sylfes feore | béagas gebohte, *Beo.*, 3014. (20) Here belongs a superlative of extent [cf. 6 b]: Æt læstan l. scyþa, *AS. Ch.*, 1049.

MIDE. AT IN NEW PHRASAL USES. I. *Conformity to one's will, pleasure, judgment, &c.* **At will:** Weder stod at wille, *Laȝ.*, iii. 12, 19 (2nd text); first text (native English), on wille. Wind stot ate wille, *Laȝ.*, i. 47 (2nd text); first text, an willen. And in his arms weld him at his wille, *Ch.*, *Monkes T.*, 272.

Pur bien manger e à talent, *Pol. Songs, Bel Eyse*, 57. Ja rien ne voldrat | n'ait a volenté, *Reimpr.*, § 106. Avoient vent et temps à leur volonte, *Fr. Ch. Lond.*, p. 76. Fist couper a sa volenté, *Jos.*, 1624. E eurent vent à souhait, *Tr.*, i, i. 6.

at avis: þey diden alle at his auyis, R. B., *Ch.*, 2739. Off the best shall ye haue | Chosse at your own avyce, *Ipom.*, 3750. Wyl þe do allē at my rede, *Hand. S.*, 949.

Por lui morrai, au mien avis, *Rose*, 4135 (God.). À mon entende-ment, *Bu. de C.*, 571. Que' a lur cunseil femme prendra, M. de Fr., *Le Fr.*, 339.

AS. used æfter: Æster dóma ȝinum gelifæsta me, *Secundum judicium tuum* vivifica me, *Ps.*, Lamb., cxviii. 149.

at device: Nother to softe ne to faste | Bot at his owne devyce, *Ip.*, 356. And names gaf at beir deuis, R. B., *Ch.*, 224. And seruyd þe quene at hyr devyse, II. *Ipom.*, 716; *Bruce*, iv. 264.

Si tu vius faire a mon devis, *Ogier*, 11310 (God.). Tut ert fet a ma devise, *Jos.*, 1248; *Boron, Graal*, 34. Tut besoigne unt fait a devise, *Lives of Ed. Conf.*, Rolls s., p. 26.

at pay, liking: When þey had chosen at þer pay, R. B., *Ch.*, 1299. And do weile mare at my lyking, *Scol. Leg., Pet.*, 276.

Et s'il estoit à son plesir | Vos à prendre, *Tr.*, i, 108. Ont le bois à lor talent, *ib.*, i. 85. Ele l'a tut a sun plaisir, M. de Fr., *Yon.*, 227. Or put aler seurement | La beste tot a sun talent, *G. de P.*, 7239. De lor bien dire à lor plaisir, *Troté*, 2009. Victoire à sun desir, *Lives Ed. Conf.*, Rolls s., p. 143.

at gre: For to go at þi gre, me gaynez non oper, *Pa.*, 348.

Jamais à gré n'en aront pès, *Wace, Brut*, 529; *Rou*, ii. 4321. A gre servir e merciér, M. de Fr., *Chai.*, 28. A sun service e à sum gré | Seras e à sa volenté, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 6419.

at guise: For he can maken at his owne gyse . . . as that him best devyse, *Ch.*, *K. T.*, 931.

Engleis dient en lur langage | A la guise de lur vsage, Wace, *Rou.*, i. 103. Cheuals quistrent e armes a la guise franceise, *ib.*, ii. 555. Armés à leur guise, Froiss., i. 34. Chacun à sa guise, Cot. Cf. also: Cum à custume faire solt, *Tr.* (Douce 2), ii. 115. À la custume del pais, M. de Fr., *Yon.*, 477.

Late MidE. at my ȝernynge, *Sir Eg.*, 104, is OFr. à souhait, *Fab.*, iv. 110.

i. a. *Conformity, but implying amount. at will:* Wellys fele & water at wyl, *A. E. L.*, *Kindh. J.*, 98. He wolde gyve hym land at wille, R. B., *Ch.*, 764; *Wm. of P.*, 1800; II, *Ipom.*, 416.

Car et poisson eurent plenté | Et bon vin à leur volenté, *Bl. et Jeh.*, 4554. Or et argent aura a son plaisir, *Mort Garin*, 3466. Tresors vos ert à raonçon, *Troie*, 11699. Comanda qu ele fust guarda tot à talent, *Fitz W.*, p. 38. E eurent vent à souhait, *Tr.*, i. 6.

AS. usage would require to or æfter in this sense: to ȝinum willan, according to thy will.

at one's power, might: In ober gude werkes doyng, vn-to alle þine even cristene at þi myghte, R. R. H., *Pr. T.*, 29. Þatt þu beo swincfull att tin mahht, *Orm.*, 4730. And help him at his mycht lely, *Bruce*, xx. 349. And at thar mychtis merry mak, *Bruce*, iii. 190.

Ele me dira sun voleir | E jol fera i mun poeir, M. de Fr., *Eli*, 617. Ne savrièz rien comander | Que ieo ne face a mun poeir, M. de Fr., *Lan.*, 124; *Tr.*, 2, ii. 32.

The exact equivalent in AS. is on (to) geweald: He hæfde ealle Asiam on his geweald, *Oros.*, 28, 29. Hæbben hí minne lichaman to gewealde, *Æ.*, *Lives*, xxiii. B, 356. Cristene men drehte swa he swiðost mihte, *ib.*, xxiii. 194.

i. b. *Conformity, but implying a standard. at measure:* And portrait weili at all mesure, *Bruce*, x. 281.

Mès parlez .i. poi à mesure, *Chev. de la Ch.*, p. 47; *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 13569. Faites à mesure et à point, *Fab.*, i. 329. Tailliez su bien à sa mesure, *Troie*, 1807. Qe sisterent à mesure, Pierre de L., ii. p. 428. A desmesure, M. de Fr., *Mil.*, 128.

Cf. AS.: But þu symle be þinre mæðe góð gefremme, *Æ.*, *Lives*, xii. 148.

at degree(s): So fair so good at all degree | Was non levand to her, *Ip.*, 179; *ib.*, 8873. And seide, 'I am a lord at alle degrees,' *Ch.*, *Mil. T.*, 536.

Te rois mounta tout à son ayn degré, Pierre de L., ii. p. 430.

at witting, knowing: I wraþþed þe neuere, at my witand, *Ps. of S.*, 250. By Cryst, at my knowynge, | Mede ys worthy, *P. Pl. (C.)*, iv. 285.

Mès gie quit au mien escient | Que n'i serra pas longuement, *Troie*, 1497. Et tut a sciént, *Reimpr.*, ii. § 49. Que Deus fist tel

a escient, *Cliges*, 822; *Brut*, 3529; M. de Fr., *Chai.*, 130. Non au mien escient de là jusques en Gale, *Berte*, 738; *Aymon*, p. 19; *R. Rose*, i. p. 303. Au mien espeir, *Troie*, 5719.

at point, at all point(s): Certas at poynt, and debonar, *Bruce*, x. 283. He was arayit at poynt clenly, *ib.*, vi. 406. At all poynt armyt weill and dicht, *ib.*, xvi. 374. & algate alisaundrine, at alle poyntes hem served, *Wm. of P.*, 1064. At alle maner poyntes, *ib.*, 3278, 3332.

Et je irai la chose tout à point aprester, *Berte*, 575. Qui joindront as piés si à point | Que de fronce n'i aura point, *R. Rose*, ii. 92. Toute la cose à point lor vint, *Fab.*, iv. 26. Car il fet tout a point e a ligne e a rieule e a plounc e a livel, *Lorenz*, p. 59.

at point device: With lymes wrought at poynt deuys, *Rom. of Rose*, 830. That saw in drems, at point devys | Helle and erthe, and paradys, Ch., *H. of F.*, 917. And hym arrayeth gay, at point devys, Ch., *Mill. T.*, 503.

Mr. Skeat, 'Etymol. Dict.', p. 453, regards this phrase as a translation of OFr. à point devis, in which devis is p.part., devised, imagined. But OFr. deviser means to determine (al jor devis, on the day set), plan, and not imagine. Unfortunately, too, I find no instance of the occurrence of à point devis, though it probably was used—cf., Lors ont la chose tout à point devisée, *Enf. Og.*, 177. It is evident that the original sense is exactly, perfectly; cf. 'at point' and 'at device' < à *devis*, exactly,—Nof cenz e dosze ans à devise, *Ch. d. N.*, 6858. Si vus dirai tot a devise, *Troie*, 307.

ii. *Subjection to, under the control of, guided by: at abandon:* To beon moder of swich sune . . . & habben him so abaundune, *Ureisun God Al.*, 203 (NED). Leyr was al at per bandoun, R. B., Ch., 2385.

Molt par li a à bandon mis | Or et argent et vair et gris, *Tr.*, i. 140. Ele a les sajes et les fos outréement à sun bandon, *R. Rose*, 1046. Le fruit des arbres lors méis à bandon, *Cour. L.*, 977.

at (one's) will: Att thy wille pou woldyst vs have, *V. and V.*, 1983. And for to hauen alle at his cri, | At his will, at his merci, *Hav.*, 270. Haue alle þing at my will, *A. E. L.*, *Amb.*, 471. Dude hem hoppe for hope to haue me at wille, *P. Pl. (A.)*, iii. 193.

Trestot met a ta volonté, *G. de P.*, 8270. Kant ad baron a volente, *A. et A.*, 724.

at (one's) mercy: And for to haue alle . . . at his mercy, *Hav.*, 270.

Venqus sui, à ta merci vien, Wace, *Brut*, 8123. Et plus tost à merci vendras, *R. Rose*, 1898. Il n'est nule qui si tost mete | A merci dame ou damoisele, *ib.*, 1836. A miséricorde, Mouskes, 3847.

at command, bidding, request: We be at þi comaundement, *Ass. Mar.*, 232. Sai, a seide, icham at hire heste, *B. of H.*, 145.

At my bode, Pa., 134. We haf heir with vs at byddyng | Weill threty thousand men and ma, *Bruce*, xi. 279. That sche walde be at his commaundement, Ch., *Mill. T.*, 106. At request and prayere, Ch., *K. T.*, 346. Cf. also, He hadde wenches at his retinue, Ch., *Fr. T.*, 57.

Mult le deit servir e amer | e estre a sun comandement, M. de Fr., *Guig.*, 494. Tute est a sun comandement, M. de Fr., *Lan.*, 220; *Berte*, 1413; *St. Alexis*, § 11; *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 9792. A la requeste et à l'instance | De tous, God. de P., 7549.

at choice: That hit be atte your choys to go, *Rath. O. R.*, p. 283.

Avoir et grans richeses orent tout à leur chois, *Berte*, 1497. Celes rendron tot a lor chois, *Eneas*, 6601; *ib.*, 6055.

at cry, at summons, at challenge, at word. And for to hauen all at his cri, *Hav.*, 269. But to be redy at his somown, *B. of H.*, x. 828. That je be to morow erely | At þe chalenge of þe lady, II. *Ipom.*, 1233. Al is wroȝt at þi worde, *Cl.*, 348.

Ja mais a sun acort n'en iere en mun viuant, *Wace, Rou*, ii. 2539. Se il n'en est à lor otrei, *Troie*, 10446. Chascun rois sist à sa demande, *Tr.*, i. 194. A la request des dit Comunes . . . acorde est et estableis, *Liber Albus*, p. 510 f. Puny al discrecion de Maire, *ib.*, p. 466. Estre . . . a son jugement e a son ordene-ment, *Livre de Reis*, p. 222. A son siervice, *Mouskes*, 737.

AS. phrases of a similar import are rare; perhaps in *Ælfric* we see the native equivalent: And habben hi minne lichaman to gewealde, *Æ.*, *Lives*, xxiii. B., 356.

at hand (of horses): At hand = under guidance. For thar na horff is in this land | Sa [wycht], no ȝeit sa weill at hand, *Bruce*, ii. 119.

Mais son cheval n'estoit pas si à main que on ne povoit nullement avoir ne tenir, *Froiss.*, xiv. 230 (La C.). Under control, generally: Tute escience orent à main, *Ch. d. N.*, i. 473.

III. *State, condition, at ease, at malease:* made him at ese, *Cl.*, 124. Wel at ayse, *A. and M.*, 9640; *St. Nich.* (Delius), p. 93. Thei that ben yuel at eese, *Wic.*, *Mark*, ii. 17. Alle that were at male ese, *Wic.*, *Matt.*, iv. 24. Yvel at eese, *Mark*, ii. 17. He neuer better at ese was his lyve, Ch., *L. G. W.*, *Dido*, 174. Ful wel at eyse, *Somp. T.*, 402.

A aise fut, sanz point d'anui, *Vie des anc. P.*, *Dou Juil.*, 224. Ne su plus à mesaise, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 28474. Ne soiez à malese, *Cour. L.*, 264. À mal eise, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 960. Mais metés vostre cuer à aise, *Bl. et Jeh.*, 1321; *La Poire*, 2884. À grant aise, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 14862. Cf. sunt à leisir, *ib.*, ii. 7524.

at grief: So that ye take it not at greffe, II. *Ip.*, 197.

De l'enor, s'il la tient, non m'est a grieu, *Ger. de Ross.*, p. 369, Michel. (God.). See 'take agrief', p. 20.

at mischief: To se at myscheiff sic a knyght, *Bruce*, xix.

77. The Erl and his thus fechtand war | At gret myscheiss as
I ȝou say, *ib.*, xi. 603.

Einsi del tot a meschief fui, *Chev. au L.*, 521. Berte la debonnaire à moult grant mescief ere, *Berte*, 1063. Et trait, por moi metre à meschief, *R. Rose*, 1831.

at peace, at repose: Richard set that lond at peace, *Rich. C. de L.*, 2438.

A paiz seit, a paiz viegne, a paiz alt laburer, *Rou*, 1227. Quant il ot tote à pais la terre, *Brut*, 10391; 9964; *Eneas*, 10076. Or sui en pais et a repos, *Eneas*, 8015.

AS. idiom is represented by: Þæt hie ealle on sibbe wæreron, *Bl. Hom.*, 225.

at large: Whyl ich of hem is at his large, *Ch.*, *H. of F.*, 745. Goon at his large, *K. T.*, 468. That at his largess wes all fre, *Bruce*, vii. 378.

Or est au large et à l'essor, *Ch. d. I. Ch.*, p. 177. Cf. mis a deliverance, Wace, *Rou*, ii. 2364. 'Estre à son large,' Froiss., xvi. 39 (La C.). 'Je vas au large' I go abrode, as one doth that is delyvered out of prison, *Cot.*, 569.

at sure, at certain: Men moste be atte certein for hey and provender, *Rath. O. R.*, p. 278.

À certain | Jà ne seront mais net sanz bain, *Tr.*, i. 184. Sot que le rois le fist à certes, Wace, *Brut*, 4488; *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 21048. Quant a seûr fu de s'amur, M. de Fr., *Le Fr.*, 285; *Yon.*, 128. Ceste guerre sera a certes, *Cligés*, 1100. Lat., *ad certum*.

III. a. *State, condition, especially indicating posture.* **at bay:** And euer þe doge at þe hole held it at a baye, *Wm. of P.*, 46. He sterryd as bere at baye, *Ip.*, 5845. As boistous as is beare at bay, *Pol. P.*, i. 307.

Le quel est a present aux plus grans abbois du monde, *Cag. de l'accouch.*, 3^e *Journ.* (God.). Un sanglier mis aux abois de tous costés, Louis XI, *Nouv.*, 19 (L.).

at defense: With his sword he stode at devence, *B. of H.*, x. 1213; *Ch.*, *Cl. T.*, 1139.

Se pristrent à defense, e les escriant, *Pol. Songs*, 277; Pierre de L., p. 224.

at (the) above, at under: Quha mast [at] their abovin mycht be, *Bruce*, xv. 56. [Tney] schal have þe better ende and be at here aboue [Lat. *prævalere*], Trevisa, Higden, ii. 29 (NED). For he ves put at vndir swa | That he ves left all hym allane, *Bruce*, vii. 365. And had thame fast at vndir ay, *ib.*, xvii. 20.

S'il al desus de toi venoit, *Brut*, 2855. S'il al desus venir pooint, *ib.*, 4244. De lui fust sempres al desus, *Troie*, 22664. Bien voi que tu es au desus, *Fab.*, i. 108. Celi dont l'en est au desseure, *R. Rose*, 3294. Les Sessions tut a desus et les Bretons tut a de suz, *Livere de reis*, p. 38. Soit pour la guerre à son deseure | Et a son dessous au tournoy, Machault, p. 111.

That the French idiom is taken from the wheel of fortune seems evident from the lines: Icil sunt al desos torné ! Qui el desus orient esté, *Brut*, 4768. But cf. Lat. *supra, subter*.

Anglo-Saxon expressed a somewhat similar idea by *básan* and *beniðan*—And þu bist áfre busan and ná beniðan, Gr., *Deut.*, xxviii. 13. Plainly an imitation of the Lat. 'semper supra et non subter.'

III. b. *Condition, existence, implying mutual relations. at accord, at assent:* We ben at on acord, *Cœur de L.*, 1369 (NED). Make yondur knyȝtes at a-cord, *Av. of A.*, § 49. Thenne sex are atte one assente, *Av. of Ar.*, § 39; *A. and M.*, 9217. Grete lordys were at the assent, *Sir Egl.*, 1096. Thay were al at on red, *Seven Sages*, 2064. Alle þai were at on asent, *A. and M.*, 9217.

Ne traorion à un accord, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 8146. Si que la volente e la reson soient a un accord, Lorenz, p. 61. Poi se tienent à un acort, *Troie*, 24701. Se tenoient à lor acort, Villeh., 58. Retornons à acort, God. de P., 570. Furent à accordement, *id.*, 4134.

at discord, at debate: The baronrys thus war at discord, *Bruce*, i. 69. Þat sal ay stryfe and be at debate, *Pr. of C.*, 9425; *ib.*, 3473; *Ipom.*, 344; *Ch. Mill. Tale*, 44.

Sa feme mise à tel descort, *Tr.*, i. 106. De ce sont il à discort, Orisme, *Eth.* iv. (L.). Chevacies a force et a estris, *Les L.*, fo 9^e (God.).

AS. idiom is represented by: And hie beop on feouinge ealle for minum naman, *Bl. Hom.*, p. 171 = at enmity, discord. Þe þa ungeþwære and ungesibbe betweonum wærón, *ib.*, p. 225 = at variance, at strife.

at one: Make the wel at one with him, *E. Eng. Psalte*, p. 152. So þat hi were at on, *Jul.*, 7. Aton he was with the kir.g, *King Horn*, 925. And quen we departed we weren at one, *Pearl*, 32, 6. So at the last hereof they fel at one, *Ch.*, *Troil.*, iii. 565. Thus thay were at on alle, *Seven Sages*, 388. And we schulle ben at oon, thou most graunt this, *Gam.*, 156; *ib.*, 166.

At once is an adverbial development from anes (AS. áne)=OFr. à un, = AS. rafost, *Bl. Hom.*, p. 183. Ne ne nime, at enes, to ueole disceplines, *A. R.*, 420. Þey smitte to him at ones, *Libeaus Des.*, 1198.

The literal expression occurs in OFr.: xxv graille i sonent tot à un, *Cour. L.*, 1190. Mielz vos vendreit à un morir, *Troie*, 24990. La genz des deus reis vint à une | En la forest oscure e brune, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 19961. The figurative meaning in: Tot fust à un, se il volsist, *Troie*, 26875. Tant dura la chaple commun | Que tote l'ovre unt mis à un, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 16352, 28298; *Troie*, 9281, 23743. Ne s'accordèrent mie à un, Wace, *Brut*, 14087. Cis se sunt, par conseil quémun [= commun] | Tot assamblé, et pris à un, *ib.*, 2893. Il ne pensent mie estre à un, *Livere de Reis*, p. 220. Le pays d'Angleterre n'est pas bien à un [= in concord],

Froiss., iii. p. 347 (La C.). Vous ne povés bonnement faire ce voyage, si l'Eglise n'est a ung, *id.*, xiv. 281. Ils parlèrent tout à un (= unanimously), *id.*, iv. 319.

iv. Manner of acting. at leisure: Att leyser speke, *Ip.*, 4656.

Sa custume est qu'il parlotet à leisir, *Ch. de R.*, 141; *Tr.*, 2. ii. 56; M. de Fr., *Mil.*, 483; *Pèl. de Ch.*, 445.

AS., On emtan to smeageanne, Bede, 2, 3.

at (a)bandon: And schot on tham at abandoune, *Bruce*, xv. 59.

E lairai les destriers aler a lur bandun, *Pèl. de Ch.*, 502. Si ont querpi tot a bandon, *Eneas*, 3742. Entrent a bandon, *Troie*, 956. Ore chevauchent . . . à bandon, *Tr.*, i. 1+2. I. saut a fait tot à bandon, *Fab.*, iv. 55. Qu'il se cuidoient de randon | Parmi les trez metre a bandon, *Cligès*, 1741.

Cf. also Late MidE. **at random:** And thei rennen to gidre a gret randoun, Maund., *Travels*, p. 238.

Lez le costé li passe à tel randon, *Cœur de L.*, 967. Et le sang de mon cors à grans rendons iscir, *Alexan.* (*Fuerres*), 497. Courrent à raundoun, Pierre de L., i. p. 88. Siglent al randoun, *id.*, ii. p. 36.

at adventure: And sayled alle sees at aventur, *Pol. P.*, i. 216 [1377]. Armed them, all at aventurers, *Cœur de L.*, 2188 (NED).

Aller à leur avantage, comme aventures sont par toutes les voyes qui pourroit greurer leurs ennemis a leur perils et fortunes, Le Jouv., p. 514 (La C.). Au hazard du combat, Mont., i. 15 (L). Nagerent a vent et a fortune, Waurin, Rolls s., p. 31.

at full: May savely go at þe fol, *C. M.*, 4008 (T.) (NED). Cf. m., *State*, Shal she (the moon) been euene atte fulle, Ch., *Frank. T.*, 341.

Ensi doit ilh ferir al plain | Des esperons, Jacq. de Baisieux, *Trouw. Belg.*, p. 179 (God.).

Cf. ON. at fullu; AS. on fullum mónan, at full moon (B-T).

at right: V hundredh armyt weill at rycht, *Bruce*, xiii. 291. Wele armyde at alle righte, *Sir Per.*, 1139. Y-armed at ryghtes, *Sir Deg.*, 372. At all rixtes, *Libeaus Des.*, 1671.

Rou fist alkes a dreit, Hasteins fist a enuers, Wace, *Rou*, ii. 13. Chastel-Far fu dit à droit, *Tr.* (Douce 2), ii. 95. Mais se tu veus estre sages a droit, Lorenz, p. 21. Si les avrez à droit paiez, *Fab.*, iv. 190.

at (one's) cost: Pat non myght scape at no cost, R. B., *Ch.*, 1054 (Pet.). Shal haue a soper at our aller cost, Ch., *Prol.*, 799. Right at myn owene cost, and be your gyde, *ib.*, 804. To dwel at hys costage | At bouche and court and wage, *Sir Deg.*, 997.

A toz dix mil homes à sa despense, Villeh., 48. Cil qui le plet maintint à son cost, Beaum., xii. 24 (L.). Procurer les besognes

de lor mestres à lor coz, *id.*, 82 (L.). Ferra ent execucioun, a ses costages, *Liber Albus*, p. 511. Aler à ses costages, Pierre de L., i. p. 474.

at guess: Þes wymmen answerede al at gesse, R. B., *Hand. S.*, 1952.

Cf., Dites vos à gas [in jest], *Fab.*, iv. 23. Car soit a certes ou a gas, | Par aucunz l'amiraus l'orroit, *Fl. et Bl.*, i. 812 (God.). Ne guidez pas, | A gius n'à certes n'à agas, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 3367. Cf., Garde toi . . . de toi bouter à tel azard, *Songe dor'* (L.). Parlans à raison, *Bu. de C.*, 3343.

at peril: At all periles, quod þe prophete, I aproche hit no nerre, *Pa.*, 85. At al perils wil I go, *Sir Ferumb.*, 3485.

A mal ironet et à peril, | Et li plosor en lonc eissil, *Troie*, 4139. Grever leurs ennemis à leur perils et fortunes, *Le Jouv.*, p. 514 (La C.).

v. a. *Mode and manner and means.* **at a brayde**, **at a frape**, **at a shot**, **at a titte**, **at a swap**, **at a wap**, **at a mase**, **at a dent**: & uche best at a brayde per him best lykey, *Cl.*, 539. Scho brayd hit a-dom at on brayd, *Seven Sages*, 483 (Morris compares ON. at bragdi, at once). Bot al wor flayd at o frape, R. B., *Ch.*, 1148. Al holyke cam þer flote | In Dertemuthe, at o schote, *ib.*, 1737. Yf pat tre war tite pulled oute | At a titte with al þe rotes oboute, R. R. H., *Pr. of Con.*, 1914. Weved at þe fyrt swap as þe snaw pikke, *Cl.*, 222. Me fleing at a swappe he hente, Ch., *H. of F.*, 543. To Mark bi middel at a Mase [var. maste] in more then in þre, *Ps. of S.*, 320. He frust down at o dent, *A. and M.*, 6286. Bot at a wap hit here wax & away at anoper, *Pa.*, 499.

OFr., à un coup, à un brin, à un flat, à un trait, à un vol, à une frusse : Qu'il ne l'est à un sol cop tué, *Alesc.*, 5324. Que ces chiens et ces hommes tout à un coup perdi, *A. N. Ch.*, iii. 207. Dont bien m'est, à un cop, faillis | S'il ne vous plaist à trouer voie, *Bl. et Jeh.*, 1834. A un coup li ferai la teste trebuchier, *Berte*, 597. À un cop tuent, Machault, p. 98. Et veez chi un castiel qui a nom Denis . . . que nous prendrons au premier cop, *Ch. de R.*, 101 (L.). À un sol coup, *Ch. d. N.*, i. 590. A voiz s'escrient toz ensemble à un brin, *Alesc.*, 1664. Les iij-en giete contre terre à un flas, *ib.*, 3988. A un seul trait en a but, *ib.*, 3929. Et cil i chiet tout à ·i· vol | La lance et l'escus dou col, *Chev. d. l. Ch.*, p. 25. À une frusse si fort retornayent, Pierre de L., i. 482.

at a trice: Pluckid downe dere all at a tryse, *Ipom.*, ii. 392. Mr. Skeat does not know this phrase (see his 'Etym. Dict.', 'trice'). He derives trice from Span. *tris*, noise made by the breaking of glass, short space of time, instant; *venir en un tris*, to come in an instant. The presence of the word in MidE. makes it necessary to connect 'tryse,' *Ipom.*, ii. 392, with MidE. *trisen*, to haul, pull;

see Ch., *C. T. B.*, 3715. 'Out of his sete i wol him trise.' MidE. 'at a tryse' is therefore a parallel to 'à un trait,' *Alesc.*, 3929.

at a word, at one mouth, at one voice: Hi seid at one mouþe, *E. E. Ps.*, p. 15, l. 85. Vp Pilax hi cried apan eu[ri]chon at one vois, *ib.*, p. 15, l. 87. Pat wroȝt alle bynges . . . at a worde one, *Pa.*, 208. To tell . . . at oo worde, Ch., *Duch.*, 306. Tel me, lord, at wordis breue, *A. E. L.*, *C de C.*, 104; at wordes lite, *B. and S.*, 189.

Tuit cil de Rome s'en issent à un hu, *Cour. L.*, 1196; *Prise d'Or.*, 112; *Elie*, 788. L'assaut comence tot à une huée, *Chans. d'Ogier*, fol. 205, v., col. 1, l. 50 (La C.). Voire de mil tout à i sible | l'appeloient le roy paisible, Machault, p. 106. Crierent à une voix, Boron, *Graal*, 496. & s'escrierent tout à une voix, Villeh., 17. E Franceis les enchalcent e a hu e a cri, Wace, *Rou*, ii. 895. Enmi les els lor sont sailli | A une vois et à un cri, Wace, *Brut*, 12300; *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 2506; *Troie*, 22124. A un soſte fust tot perdu, *Eneas*, 7712. Vaspasyens à un seul mot | Fist des Juis ce que lui plot, Boron, *Graal*, 2285. Respunent à un cri, *St. Anb.*, 1105. Ne boive pas à une alaine | Ne henap plain ne cope plaine, *R. Rose*, ii. p. 89.

v. b. *Instrument used in action: play at tables, checker, ball, dice, buckler, chess, &c.:* Wiþ pleynde atte tables oper atte chekere, R. G., *Ch.*, 3965. How he played at þe bal, *A. E. L.*, *St. Aug.*, 706 (= ludebat ad pilam, J. de Vorag.); *Av. of Ar.*, § 24. At þe echesse i con wel pleye, *A. E. L.*, *St. B.*, 7 (= ad taxillos ludere, J. de Vorag.). To pleyen atte dys, , 20. A play atte bokele, *ib.*, 126. Thare lered men the Normandes at bukler to play, Minot, in *Pol. P.*, i. 70.

As tables juent pur els esbaneier | Et as eschas li plus saive e li vieill, *Ch. de R.*, 111. Et dan Guillaume qui jeu à l'eschequier, *Cov. Viv.*, 990. To pleye at þe ches or at þe Tablere, R. B., *Hand. S.*, 1043; translating as echeks ou al tabler, *Man. Pech.*, 1531. Ansi com jue à la pelote, *A. N. Ch.*, iii. p. 131. N'est mie a billette juer, *Ipom.*, 2404. As eschas juent li plusor | Au geu del mat ou au mellor, Wace, *Brut*, 10841. Esbanéier, as dez, as eschez, et as tables, *Troie*, 1179. joent à hazard, *Brut*, 10837.

This use of at with verbs of playing is also the construction in ON. AS. *plegan* was used transitively or absolutely. With an object the construction with the accusative of the object was usual: *plegan plegiaþ, plægiendra timpanum, &c.* (B-T).

Instrument: at spur: Thowe moste spedate at the spurs, *Morte Arthur*, 449. Peþ spedate at þe spoures, *ib.*, 483. Pre stedes heddes doun riȝt | He slouȝt at strokes pre, *Libeaus Des.*, 1239.

Que n'i allons à esperon | Lui deraisnier, *Tr.*, i. 201; *ib.*, 2, ii. 39. Et cil s'en torné à esperon brochant, *Cour. L.*, 2442. Le roi le suit a esperon, *G. de P.*, 103. Al bois s'en turne a esperun,

MidE.
29.
at one
ri]chon
a worde
., 306.
wordes

1196 ;
e huée,
l tout à
Crierent
e voix,
Wace,
t à un
22124.
n seul
pounent
henap

, ball,
er atte
E. L.,
f Ar.,
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andes

e e li
quier,
R. B.,
Pech.,
N'est
Au
dez,
837.
on in
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ual :

forte
edes

39.
oi le
run,

Ipom., 6326, 6839. Cf. also, À glaive les ocoient, *Brut*, 1042. Corut à sigle et à nage, *ib.*, 8401. Pristrent al hericon, *Eneas*, 3752. Seelé à cire, à clox, *Tr.*, i. 34. Prent . . . al piege, Wace, *Rou*, " 611. Defendre al fer e a l'acier, *ib.*, ii. 3219.

v. c. *Vivid adverbial adjunct: at eye*: Then they may seen at eighe or elles preve, Ch., *Pr. L. G. W.*, 100. This maistow understande and seen at eye, Ch., *K. T.*, 1458.

Co dit Dithis, qui vit as ielz, *Troie*, 26927. Car chascuns pot veoir à l'ueil | De lune esclipse, Machault, *Oeuvres*, p. 68; Joinv., 222 (L., voir). Cf. mostré au dei, *Troie*, 8608; *ib.*, 10539.

vi. *At, with words expressing estimation of value*: If I hit lukked oper set at liȝt, *Gaw.* and *G. K.*, 1250. Set hem at lyttel, *Cl.*, 1710. Pei sett it soþli at nouȝt [= set no account by], *Wm. of P.*, 3467. And sette my wurdus atte liȝte, *Sir Am.*, 14. That al the worlde he sette at no value, Ch., *L. G. W. Cleo.*, 23. Thaï suld set all their fais at nouȝt, *Bruce*, xiii. 88. Jakke, thi lewid prophecie | I preise not at a peese, *Pol. P.*, ii. 46; *ib.*, ii. 47. He spatt on hym & sett hym all at noght, *A. E. L.*, *Eras.*, 52.

Ne prisa mais noz deus à valor d'un gant, *St. Aub.*, 1162. Sire, je 's esme à treis milliers, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 22223. Dame, nul mal que j'aie, Ne tieng fors à legier, *Couci*, viii. [L.]. Suz ciel n'ad rei qu'il prist à un enfant, *Ch. de R.*, 2739. Les chevalers d'Engletere sunt nonbrez à m̄t, *Fitz W.*, 19. Tel conseil prist à léger, *A. N. Ch.*, i. 97. Son éage a xx. ans puis prendre, *Bl. et Jeh.*, 69.

The corresponding idiom in AS. is represented by: And tellað m̄n wedd for náht, Gr., *Deut.*, xxxi. 20. To hwon þu sceole of owiht þysne man habban, *B. Hom.* 179. Hfe hfe selfe tō nōhte bemætan, *Oros.*, 3, 7.

vii. *Measure, extent, especially with superlatives, (a) quantity, (b) quality, (c) time*. (a) *at all*: To þis bestes mercy .i. bowe me at alle, *Wm. of P.*, 4411. Perfore, couherde, i þe coniure & comande atte alle, *ib.*, 283. Sche is a schrewe at al, Ch., *Pr. Mar. T.*, 10; *Fr. T.*, 936.

Que sa fille à tout bien taillée, *R. Rose*, i. 186.

AS. eallunga: Eallunga Godes rīce on éow becymþ, *Lk.*, Bos., 11, 20 [B-T].

at overmuch: At over-mekyll in travell has þou bene, *Ifom.*, 4042.

Mès au surplus ja ne báait, *Ch. de la Ch.*, p. 80.

at the least: (a) with numerals; (b) as adv. modifier of verb. (a) eihte reisuns et te leste, *A. R.*, 164. (b) Yet at the leste renoveleth your servyse, Ch., *C. Mars*, 19. The sentence of the compleynt, at the leste, *ib.*, 24. Shuld dighe, or at þe lest tyn hir witt, *Pr. of Con.*, 2322.

(a) Desi qu'a xv jorz al meins, *Troie*, 25541. Il a jà bien cinc ans, au mains, *R. Rose*, 47. Au mains une, *ib.*, 1640.

Jusqu'a quinzaine a tot le mains, *Chev. au L.*, 3076. (*β*) De la bele dame veoir | Au moins, *Chev. au L.*, 1539. Ceci au meins bien cuidions, Boron, *Graal*, 3535; Wace, *Brut*, 1200.

In AS. *æt læstan*, without the article, was used in limiting numerals, *Ch.*, 1049; but in the limitation of the sense of verbs *huru* = at least: *Forði me sceolan habban huru eadmodnysse*, *Æ.*, *Lives*, xii. 283.

The use of the article, which is uniformly employed in MidE., and the extension of the use of 'at the least' for verbal modifications, are best explained by the constant influence of OFr. *au moins*.

(*l*) **at the best**: Treuli twenti pou sand a-tired atte best, *Wm. of P.*, 1949. And dronken euer strong ale atte best, *Ch.*, *Rev. C. T.*, 227. And wel we weren esed atte beste, *Ch.*, *Prol. C. T.*, 29.

Ele fut corunee al plus bel e al mielz, *Pèl. de Ch.*, 6. Furent arbres au plus bel del munt, *Jos.*, 1967. Et fai al mius que tu saras, Wace, *Brut*, 6754. Al mielz qu'il sot et au plus dreit, *Troie*, 1841. Je la salu au plus bel | Que jou poi raisnier, *R. u. P.*, iii. 26, 13.

AS. used 'best' as super. adv., but I do not find **æt bestan*. þu scalt libben alre best, *O. E. Hom.*, i. p. 7.

MidE., as far as my notes show, does not adopt equivalents for OFr. al plus bel, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 569 (but cf. 'at the best'); al plus tost, Wace, *Rou*, ii. 1942; *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 15148; au loncg, *Year-Bk. Ed. I.*, i. p. 26, or à long, but cf. at schort, *Lanc.*, 135; au plus dreit, *Troie*, 1841, &c.; au plus, *A. and N.*, 18, 28 (AS., be ðam mæstan); au pis, *A. N. C.*, iii. 150.

(*c*) **at first, at the first**: Him behoveþ ate verste | Þet he habbe prudence, *Ayenb.*, p. 127. A gret fiss at þe ferste | Mi net he makede berste, *Horn*, 661 (669 ed. Wissmann, *Quel. u. Forsch.*, 45). Rimmild sede at þe ferste: | herte, nu þu berste, *Horn*, 1191 (Wissm., 1213). At the furste up he drough, *Alis.*, 2636.

Tel[s] quida altre abatre ki al premier chai, Wace, *Rou*, ii. 788. Au premier quant de li parlai, *Bl. et Jeh.*, 4708. Qui au premier fu vostre dame, *ib.*, 4920.

The AS. *æt fruman*, *æt ærestan*, *on forman* (*Bl. Hom.*, 127, 20), were carried into MidE.: Ac ich þou telle þo at arst, *A. and M.*, 2333. For now at erste shul ye here, *Ch.*, *H. of F.*, 512. Louerd spareð a uormest þe þunge, *A. R.*, 220. On alre erest hwon ȝe . . . , *ib.*, 64.

The simple superlative adv. was likewise used, *arst*, *erst*.

The preference manifested for 'at the first,' using *at* rather than *on*, and adding the article, shows the steady influence of the French expression with *al*, *au*.

at the last: And at the last forgat thai noght, Minot, in *Pol. P.*, i. 77. Rest at þe laste, *Cl.*, 446; *Ch.*, *Prol. C. T.*, 707; *R. of R.*, 193; *Sir Per.*, 2259; R. R. H., *Pr. of C.*, 86; *Libeaus Des.*, 1506.

Garin li dus tot au derréain vint, *Mort Garin*, 3805. Mes al d[e]rain se tent a cest, *Ip.*, 1247; *Tr.*, 2, ii. 6; Wace, *Rou*, ii. 356. Pesa al darrennier k'il tant fu esparni, *St. Aub.*, 1528; *Troie*, 6078. Or li proi qu'el ne m'escondie | Au darrenier d'un petit don, *La Poire*, 2988. Al dreyn torna la perte a Yervand, *Fitz W.*, p. 23; Gaimar, 189 (Ep. L. D.). À darrien, Boron, *Graal*, 3830.

AS. *æt s*fœstan is like *ærestan* in lacking the article. It does not appear in MidE., which has partly availed itself of 'on ende' to express the notion. On ende,—þeonne is þe muchele joie, *A. R.*, 218. In finem, on ende, *ib.*, 146. I dredre on ende quat schulde byfalle, *Pearl*, 16, 6. = Lat. and Fr. in finem, en fin. AS. on lengðe,—On lengðe mid him he begeat ealle þa eastlond, *Oros.*, 144, 1—scarcely appears in MidE. There is a very rare case, On lenche als him likes, *Pierre de L.*, p. 236. The AS. 'latest' = at the latest, *Wulfst.*, 208, 5 (B-T), could not affect 'æt sfœstan.' On the other hand, ON. at lesti no doubt aided in the establishment of the phrase. At (the) last could arise from (a) ON. at lesti, (b) by analogy with *æt ærestan*, under the influence of al derein; in either case the presence of the article points to OFr. influence. The earliest occurrence in *La3*, 'at þan laste,' 3765, is in harmony with this view.

The loss of AS. *æt nehstan*, recently, lately, finally, at last, *Oros.*, 30, 12, seems due to the absence of a supporting phrase in OFr.

CHRONOLOGY. The earliest evidence of the influence of OFr. à in MidE. phrasal use is found in the first half of the thirteenth century, when Ia, at one's might, appears in *Orm.*, II, at wille in *V. and V.*, III b, at once, and VII a, at the least, in *A.R.* The use of abaundune in *O.E.H.*, c. 1225, is significant of the colloquial familiarity with à-phrases in EMidE. The article is also added to 'at last' as a phrase of time in *La3*. The second half of the century extends the at-phrases but slightly. I, at will, is found in *La3*. (2nd text) replacing the AS. on of the first text; III b, at one, VII c, at the first, appear in *Horn*; at few words in *B. and S.* The flourishing time of at-phrases is the first half of the fourteenth century: I b, at point, *Wm. of P.*; III, at aise, *A. and M.*, at the full, *C. M.*; III a, at defence, *Bev. of H.*; III b, at debate, *Pr. of C.*; IV, at guess, *Hand. S.*; V a, at o dent, *A. and M.*; V b, play at table, *R. G.*; VI, (set) at nought, *Wm. of P.*; VII, at all, *ib.*; VII a, β, superlatives (quant.) with the, at the leste, *Pr. of C.*; VII b, (qual.) at the best, *Wm. of P.* The last half of the fourteenth century extends this phrasal growth somewhat further: V b, at the spurs, *Morte Arthur*; V c, at eye, *Ch.* But the chief extensions for MidE. had been established. Authors like Robert of Gloucester, Robert

of Brunne, Richard Rolle of Hampole, Dan Michel, the writers of the versions *A.* and *M.* and *W'm. of P.*, all having Fr. affiliations, are the chief exponents of the new phraseology.

CONCLUSION. The history of AT in ME. shows very many remarkable phenomena. An expression like be þínre mæðe became at thy measure; on ðínum gewealde, at thy command; on feounge, at discord; on emtan, at leisure; hwylcumhwega wordum, at few words; tellað . . for náht, set at no value; a simple word such as eallunga, entirely, may be rendered by a phrase, at all; the simple superlative adverbs mést, læst, &c., are preferably rendered by phrases, at the most, at the least, at the best, &c.; new phrases are coined, at bay, at point, at my knowing, at abandon, &c.—in short, AT undergoes in MidE. a great development of meaning, encroaching on the sphere of other prepositions and entering into phrases previously unknown in the language. These changes are paralleled with the utmost exactitude by the use of à in corresponding syntactical phrases in OFr. They occur for the first time chiefly in works having French originals. Hence it must be concluded that this development of meaning of AT and the extension of its phrasal power are the direct result of French influence upon the native language.

IV. NOMINAL COMPOUNDS AND PHRASES

THE juxtaposition of MidE. and OFr. made some modification of the Teutonic noun-compounds inevitable; for the facility of AS. in creating compound nouns was restricted to so-called 'flat' and flexional syntax; while the facility of OFr. was essentially in phrasal syntax. In some cases OFr. influence modified the flat compounds of English without perceptible need in point of expression, as in the case of head- resp. master-, chief-; in some instances new phrasal nouns appear, at times supplanting the AS. equivalents, at times expressive of new notions; in others, as in the construction with 'manner of,' the mind's view of the phrase changed, and the OFr. construction won a distinct victory over the native idiom.

I. MASTER-, CHIEF-, IN COMPOUNDS.

In AS., expressions corresponding to MidE. 'mayster-wryth,' *A. E. L.*, *Kindh. J.*, 635, 'chef church,' *Wm. of P.*, 1955, involved the use of héafod, head: *Ow twam héafod-burgum*, *Æ.*, *Lives*, ii. 320. *Seo burh Asor wæs . . . manegra burga héafod* [= principatum tenebat], *Gr.*, *Jos.*, xi. 10. *þa héafod-menn*, *Æ.*, *Lives*, xiii. 139. *héafod-wyrhta*, *héafod-mynster*, *héafod-stede*, *héafod-gylt*, deadly sin; *héafod-leahter*, a capital offence.

Compounds with heaved < *héafod* continue through MidE. *þe seouen heaued sunnen*, *A. R.*, 194. *Alle heued-sennes*, *V. and V.*, 81, 21; 3, 29; 67, 34. *Nu beoð viii heafod mihtan*, *O. E. H.*, p. 103.

But MidE. early shows compounds with (1) master and (2) chief, immediately due to the influence of OFr. maistre and chief in equivalent expressions.

master: *Wimmen welten weres mester* = master-men, fiends (M), *G. and Ex.*, 532. *Meister burg*, *ib.*, 3381; *meister prest*, *ib.*, 3386. *þe mayster-wryth*, *A. E. L.*, *Kindh. J.*, 635. *þe maister juler*, *C. M.*, 4434. *þe maister chefe iailer*, *ib.* (MS. 1340), 4434. *The maister budel*, *Pol. Songs*, 151. *A mayster þef*, *R. R. H.*,

Lam., 330. A maister heretyk, *A. E. L.*, *Ambr.* 299. *ʒe Meires* and *ʒe Maister Iuges*, *P. Pl. (A)*, viii. 171. The maystre strete, *Ch.*, *L. G. W.*, *Ariad.*, 80. The maistre temple, *L. G. W.*, *Dido*, 91. Maistre tounue of al Colcos, *Xyph.*, 224. A wise maister carpenter, *Wic.*, i *Cor.*, iii. 10.

Mestre cuisinier, *Alesc.*, 3845. Li maistre cleric, *Rou*, 877. Maistre gardeins, *ib.*, 3238. Mestre confesseur, *A. N. Ch.*, iii. 177. Le maistre tor roial, *G. de P.*, 4652. Son maistre cor, *Alesc.*, 7058. Son maistre conseillier, *Berte*, 3174. Mestre dais, *Tr.*, ii. 101; *En.*, 839. Ce est la maistre siez d'enfer, *ib.*, 2701. Mestre limonier, *Char. de N.*, 1264. Mestre bacheler, *ib.*, 1223. Maistre roche, *Aymon*, 133. Mestre donjon, *ib.*, 121. Maistre chambre, *ib.*, 111. Maistres vénères, *ib.*, 97. As maistres porz, *Ch. de R.*, 2939.

chief: Oure chefe kyng, *R. B.*, *Ch.*, 15. *þe maister chefe iailer*, *C. M.* (MS. 1340), 4434. *þe chef chyrche*, *R. G.*, *Ch.*, 4758. *þe chief Cite*, *E. E. Ps.*, 49. *þe chef cherch*, *Wm. of P.*, 1955. Chife goddes and qwene, *Ch.*, *Fr. T.*, 1046. Cheefe-pasture, *Pol. P.*, i. 321. Chefe lorde, *Sir Per.*, 2135. My chefe herte, *Sir Egl.*, 305.

The earliest instance of OF. chief, in this use, cited by Littré is : Le chief seignor dou reiaume Jerusalem, *Ass. de J.*, 1215 (date 1250, *G. Paris*). Chef bailifs, *Tr. d'Ec.*, c. 7 (God. ii. 121). Chef seygnur, Pierre de L., p. 182. Chef justiser, *id.*, p. 258. Chef justize, *Livre de Reis*, p. 252. Qe estoit fait chief gardein du roy, *Fr. Ch. Lond.*, p. 62.

It is especially noteworthy that MidE. 'master' in these expressions is imitated from OFr.; and that when in OFr., at a time later by a century than the use of maistre, chief is used, MidE., at a correspondingly long time after the use of master, turns to employ chief. The history of this expression is somewhat parallel to that of cors, referred to in the Introduction.

II. PHRASAL NOUNS.

i. MidE. shows a remarkable growth of phrasal nouns of the type of man of arms, man of law, for which AS. employed either the simple noun, e. g. *cempa*, or the flat compound, e. g. *lahman*. ii. It exhibits, too, a partiality for the genitive of quality, especially in certain conventional terms favoured in OFr. poetry. The latter construction was not new to English, as AS. frequently used it, especially when accompanied by an adjective; e. g. *mæsse-preost* mæres lifes, *Æ.*, *Lives*, iv. 229. The first type is essentially Romance by origin.

man of arms, &c. Men of armes, *R. B.*, *Ch.*, 1025; *ib.*, 1541. Godmen of armes, *Wm. of P.*, 1069. Kniȝt of armes, *ib.*, 1198. Harroldys of armes, *Torr.*, 2365. Man of werre, *Ip.*, 3869. Men at horse, *Maund.*, xxii. 245 (NED).

Hommes d'armes, Berry, *Rec. de N.*, 357, 370 bis. Chevaliers d'armes, *Cligés*, 2687. Sargaunts d'armes, *Fr. Ch. Lond.*, p. 83. Bone genz des armes, Pierre de L., i. p. 218, B. Consauls d'armes, Machault, p. 108. Gens d'armes, Berry, *Rec. de N.*, 306 et pass. Gens de guerre, *ib.*, 268 et pass.; *Cl. d'Am.*, 2000. Airaulx d'armes, J. d'Auton, *Ch.* (God.). Archiers à cheval, Berry, *Rec. de N.*, 347, 371. Serjanz e à escuz e à arcs, *Quatre Liv. des R.*, iii. 27. Un grand sire as armes, Pierre de L., i. 196. Gens as armes, *id.*, i. 218.

merchant of wool, &c.—a favourite phrasal construction for nouns of trades and professions: Marchantes of wolle, *P. Pl. Crede*, 289. Men of laghe, *Pr. of C.*, 5942; *Ch.*, *Mel.*, p. 164. Sergeant of lawe, *Prol. C. T.*, 309. Doctour of phisik, *ib.*, 411. Man of religion, Wm. de S., 65; *St. Alex.* (v.) 23; *E. E. Wills*, 3, 12. Renkez of religion, *Cl.*, 7. Men of ordre, *A. E. L.*, *St. Aug.*, 1043; *St. Alex.* (Laud, 622), 86, &c. Man of holichirche, R. G., *Ch.*, 9659.

Merchant de chevax, de vin, ouvrière de soie, tailleur de robes, &c., *Taille de Paris, anno 1313*. Marchéanz de dras, *Fab.*, ii. 126. Mestres de theologie, Pierre de L., ii. 346. Gent de religiun, *Rou*, 783; *Fab.*, ii. 172; *Livre de Reis*, p. 58. Dames de religion, Machault, p. 147. Gent d'ordre, Ruteb., 42 (L.). Gens d'église, Berry, *Rec. de N.*, 297, 358.

man of price, &c. An excellent instance of the transference of set phrases from OFr. to MidE. is afforded by the expressions made with price in a relation of genitive of quality: No no gentil man of priis, *A. and M.*, 2831. His yonge men of prys, *Gam.*, 803. In Troye was a Duc of prys, R. B., *Ch.*, 459. Pe twelue dosze-peres of pris, *ib.*, 1601. & Kniȝtes of pris, *A. and M.*, 6062. A castel . . . of pris, R. B., *Ch.*, 1612. Gyftes of pris, *ib.*, 3748. Hors of priis, *A. and M.*, 6811.

Bons serjens de priz, *Mort Garin*, p. 4. Li bon vasal de prise, *Aymon*, p. 11. Li barons de pris, *Cligés*, 4630. c. homes de pris, *Alesc.*, 8019. Chevaus de pris, *Cligés*, 416.

point of death. This expression exemplifies the supplanting of the native idiom by the borrowed phrase: Be noght fulfilled at þe dedes poynt, R. R. H., *Pr. of C.*, 3303. Pou bytawte in to þi faderys handys at þe poynt of þi deth þi gloryouse gost, R. R. H., *Med. de P. D.*, 338. At point of dede was hit stat, *A. and M.*, 8458. In poynt of dethe we both hathe ben, *Ip.*, 7032.

E quant vent al point de la mort, *Best. Rich.*, 3835. Naufrez au poynt de mort, *Fitz War.*, p. 70. Qu'il vient al destreit, | Al point de morir, *Reimp.*, § 68.

The AS. expressions of the notion were: *Æt his daga ende*, *Bl. Hom.*, p. 225; *ealdres at ende*, *Beo.*, 2791; and *orwena lises læg æt forð-siðe*, *All.*, *Lives*, iii. 301.

brother germain, brother-in-law, &c. It is not remarkable, when MidE. adopted OFr. terms for family relationships like uncle, aunt, cousin, that it should also owe expressions of the type of cousin germain and brother-in-law to the same source. Brother germayn of uader and of moder, *Ayen.*, 146. No bretheren, ne cosins germayns, Ch., *Mel.*, 168. He is mi germain cosyng, *G. of W.*, A., 912 (NED).

Qui estoit ses freres germains, *Cligés*, 2539. Sa cuer germainne, *Chev. au L.*, 3909; serors germainnes, *R. u. P.*, i. 5, 2. ii. cousins germaines, *Fab.*, ii. 54. Germains cousins, *Alexan. (Fuerges)*, 645.

He was Daries brother in lawe, *Alis.*, 4399. And son-in-law wes to the king, *Bruce*, xvii. 219. Agains Pompeius, fader thin in lawe, Ch., *Monkes T.*, 690.

The AS. expressions for brother-in-law, &c., were *āðum*, *swegr*, *snoru*. The new forms are certainly Romance. In OFr. *en loi de mariage* was a set formula in the expression of such relationships: Père en loi de mariage = beau-père (La C. 'loi,' also God., *ib.*). Me pren par loy de mariage, *Metam. Ov.* (Bartsch), 643, 29. Vos iestes tuit mi fil et mes filles en loi, *Jos. of Ar.*, 1380. Poures jeunes hommes, | Freres en lay à cause de leurs femmes, *Reg.* 130 *Charloph. reg.*, ch. 127 (Du Cange). The NED notes as the source the legal Lat. *frater in lege*, citing, however, no example earlier than 1425, while the MidE. expression is found in 1300.

III. TAUTOLOGICAL PHRASES.

MidE., in addition to tautological groups carried over from AS., shows fresh groups transferred from OFr. These are: verbal groups, like grant and give, *A. E. L.*, *St. Aug.*, 1357; adverbial, like fair and well; adjectival, like safe and sound; or nominal, like those adduced below. In some cases an English equivalent word replaces a French word in one member of the phrase, and the whole takes on a semblance of bilingualism, for which the history of the phrase in question affords no justification.

cause and matter: That men mowe haue cause and matiere to prayse you, Ch., *Mel.*, p. 196.

Ne truisse cause ne reson, *Cl. d'Am.*, 2923.

custom and use (haunt): Als þe custom þan was and þe usage, R. R. H., *Pr. of C.*, 4054. His custume & his haunt, R. B., *Ch.*, 6648.

Si comme il est costume et us, Wace, *Brut*, 6912; *id.*, 3243. Si com or est us et costume, *Cligés*, 4531. Si come il est coustume et us, *Fab.*, i. 112. Par le coustume et par l'usage, *G. de P.*, 8907.

hue and cry: Wyþ mykel noyse & cry & heu, R. B., *Ch.*, 11984. Oure peple made an hu and a crye, Cax., *God. Bol.*, 268, 11.

E Franceis les enchalcent e a hu e a cri, Wace, *Rou*, ii. 895; *Brut*, 3128; *ib.*, 8710. Et la bataille, et li hus, et li cris, *Mort*

Garin, 238. Li sun des cors, li hu, li cri, *A. N. Ch.*, i. 200. Li huz et la criée, *Troie*, 9535. Et cri et hu, Wace, *Brut*, 3128, 8710. Lievent le cri, lievent le hu, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 5142.

leisure and space: Gif God will me gif | Laser and space so lange till liff, *Bruce*, xx. 233.

Quant il ont eise et leu et tans, *Cligés*, 3864. Se vos li donez leisir e tens, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 21060. N'ont unc mais aise ne leisir, *ib.*, 17968. Or ont assez terme et leisir, *Troie*, 22335. Leu e leisir, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 17800.

lord and sire (master): Humbald was þer-in lord & sire, R. B., *Ch.*, 6421.

De lui firent seignor et maistre, *Eneas*, 77; Boron, *Graal*, 3350. Qui est damour sire et maistre, *En.* (D.), 734 (Append.); *G. de P.*, 2478; *Hav.*, 1086; *Troie*, 490. Mestre et sire, *ib.*, 837; 22330.

los and price: Ye, for to gette them losse & prise, *Ip.*, 6046. For to wynne price and loos, *B. of H.*, x. 22.

Por los et pris d'armes conquerre, *Fl. et Lir.*, 1184; *Tr.*, 2, 42. Grand pris et grans los, Wace, *Brut*, 13015. Le los e pris le pris [en] portast, *Ip.*, 131, 1151, 1588. Out le los e pris (Adgar), *Mar. Leg.*, 39/52.

peace and concord: Pesful felagheship and concord, R. R. H., *Ps. cl. 4 (NED)*. Concorde nor peace, Caxton, *En.*, xl. 132.

pais et concorde, Wace, *Brut*, 1293; *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 645; *ib.*, 8500. Concorde e pais, *Ch. d. N.*, 23179; *ib.*, ii. 6317.

right and reason: For as by right and resoun, ther may no man take vengeaunce, Ch., *Mel.*, 169.

Mout lor fet bien reison et droit, *Cligés*, 534; *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 23560; Wace, *Rou*, ii. 2749. Raison et droiture, *Fab.*, i. 1. Dreiz est e raisun, *Mar. Leg.*, 46/155; *Cour. L.*, 1897; *Troie*, 24404.

IV. CYN AND MANNER OF¹.

The expression of the notion 'what kind of' was usually made in AS. by means of *cyn* in the genitive: Feower cynna gefeoht, *Æ. Lives*, xv. 705. *Ælces cynnes treow* = L. *omne lignum*, *Gen.*, ii. 9. Cf. also: gehwylces hádes men, men of all ranks, *Bl. Hom.*, p. 47. *þa nítenu* of eallum cinne, *Gen.*, vii. 8.

This native idiom passed into MidE.: sumes kennes (lean), *V. and V.*, ii, 32. Monie kunnes remedies, *A. R.*, 120. Two cunne ancren, *ib.*, 128. Ones Kunnes treow, *ib.*, 150. Alles cunnes pinen, *Jul.*, 18. Nanes cunnes blisse, *ib.*, 21. Ilc kinnes beste, *G. and Ex.*, 220. Opres kennes teares, *V. and V.*, 147, 8. Alle ðes kennes eueles, *ib.*, 103, 2. Noskinnes labour, Ch., *H. of F.*, 1794. Us fortso were fra alkins ill, *St. Holy Rood*, 60.

¹ See also Kellner, 'English Syntax,' pp. 103 ff.

In examples like the last cited we see already *alles cynnes* losing caste as a noun and passing into an indeclinable adjective. This tendency was strengthened by the form *cynne*, originally the genitive pl. *cynna*; hence: *Whatkyn fruyt*, *Pr. of C.*, 923. *Alkyn thyng*, *ib.*, 3248. *Nankyn chance*, *Bruce*, ii. 168. This *kyn vis*, *ib.*, iv. 743. *Fele-kyn hues*, *Cl.*, 1483. Even *Whatkyns a Godd*, *Sir Perc.*, 242. On his kin wise, *Finding of the Cross*, 33.

The OFr. expression by means of *manière*, *espèce*, emphasized the class rather than the content of the notion: *Tote manere de pecche*, *Best. Rich.*, 1516. *Une manere est de serpent*, *ib.*, 1634. *Toutes manières d'autres vivres*, *Tr.*, i. 32. *Autre meniere d'angin*, *Jos. of A.*, 862. *Mainte maniere | E de virgenes et d'inocens*, *Mouskes*, *Hist. de Fr.*, p. 296. *iii manieres de franchise*, *Lorenz*, p. 24. *Vint e treis manieres de herbes*, *Adgar*, 31, 86. *Tute manière de musches (= omne genus muscarum)*, *Ps. lxxvii*. 45. Also, but less frequently: *Joiaus de maintes manières*, *Fab.*, ii. 125. *Roses de diverses guises*, *Cl. d'A.*, 2147.

MidE. early imitated the OFr.: *Crabbe* is an *manere of fissce*, *O.E.H.*, 51. *How fele maners... of fleande brides*, *Quest. M.*, p. 286. *þe maner of crucyfyyng*, *Med. Pass. Lord*, 628. *Al maner of trespass*, *Med. Sov. Lady*, 1104. Another *manere of drynk*, *Pr. of C.*, 6750. *Sere maners of gys*, *ib.*, 1532. Through the analogical influence of the singular constructions, aided by the native uninfllected collectives, we have: *Seven manere of blysses*, *Pr. of C.*, 8168. *Kind* stands at times as the native equivalent of *manere*: *Vnder what kynde of tre*, *Ps. of S.*, 336. *Al kynde of fischess*, *Wic.*, *Matt. xiii*. 48. Even *what-kyn* is influenced: *Breve me, bryght, quat-kyn of treys*, *Pearl*, 63, 11.

Manner assumed at times the late native (uninflected) construction of *cyn*, hence: *Of each maner evil*, *Holy Rode* (Ashm.), 67. Some *maner comfort*, *Ch.*, *Mill. T.*, 495. Such *maner doctrine*, *Pr. T.*, 47. All *maner fusoun*, *Libeaus Des.*, 112. On the other hand, the native construction seems to have reacted on late AngN.: *Al rays est acordez de totes maners ennuys*, *Pierre de L.*, i. 492; also *Fr. Ch. de L.* Latin influence as well was at work, the appositive, instead of the partitive genitive construction with *pars*, *genus*, &c., being common in non-classical Latin (*Draeger, Hist. Syntax*, i. 3).

V. APPPOSITIVE NOUNS WITH OF.

AS. place-names, in addition to the simple form, such as *Brytene*, *Lundene*, *Temese*, were frequently composite. i. A genitive of possession entered: *Edmundesburgh*. *Norðmanna land*, *Oros.*, 18, 24. *West Seaxna rice*, *A.S. Ch.*, i. *Angelynnnes lond*, *ib.*, 96. *Baldewines land* [Flanders], *ib.*, 305. *Andredes ceaster*, *ib.*, 24. *Brunnanburh*, *ib.*, 200. *Ascanmynster*, *ib.*, 86. *Ægelesford*, *ib.*, 279. *Æsces dūn*, *ib.*, 139. In rare cases, under immediate Latin usage, the genitive replaced what logically was an appositive relation: *Alex-*

andrian byrig, *A.*, *Lives*, ii. 181. ii. The appositive relation of name and common noun was the common and native idiom: Romeburh, *Oros.*, 28, 25. Eoforwicceastre, *AS. Ch.*, 48. þæt landi Arabia, *Oros.*, 10, 35. Seo éa Danai, *ib.*, 8, 16. Brytene igland, *AS. Ch.*, 3. On þam dene Mambré, *Gen.*, 18, 1. þa munatas Caucasus, *Oros.*, 130, 16. Aethiopica westenne, *ib.*, 12, 26 [= Aethiopica deserta]. iii. The common noun may be extended by the use of the article or periphrasis: Nilus seo éa, *Oros.*, 12, 19. þam wætere seo éa hatte Tameſe, *AS. Ch.*, 5. On Antiochia, *ib.*, 9 = On Antiochia ðære ceastre, *ib.*, 8 = on Antiochia ceastre, *ib.*, 9. iv. The Norse construction with æt is found: To þam porte þe mon hæt æt Hæfum, *Oros.*, 19, 23.

The MidE. period offers abundant instances of the native constructions: To lond mesopotanie fer, *G. and Ex.*, 1360. Fro ðe riche flod eufrate, *ib.*, 1256. To ðare haljan ceastre constantinopolim, *Holy Rood*, 34, 28. Iordanen þære æ, *ib.*, 18, 26. Wyrolbram þe cite, R. B., *Ch.*, 9616. Þe Louh Lumyne (= Lomond), *ib.*, 10195. Þe hil Teynewyk, *ib.*, 10165. Two watres, Marne & Seyne, *ib.*, 10832. Inne Winchæſtre tun, Laȝ, (b) 400.

Early in MidE. there appears, however, a new construction destined to win supremacy over, though not to oust, the native 'flat' appositives: Igland of Orcanie, *AS. Ch.*, p. 11 (MS. Cott. Domit., A. viii, dated (Thorpe) c. 1150; earlier MSS. Orcadus þa éalond, Orcadius þa éaland). Ðe desert of refachim, *G. and Ex.*, 335². Out of þe montayn of Synay, *ib.*, 224. Þe hul of Calvary, *Holy Rode* (Ashm.), 345. In þe londe of Asye, *S. Marg.*, 18. The Cite of Damace, *Bev. of Ham.*, x. 1042. The rayalme of Fraunce, *ib.*, 2602. Þe water of Teyne, R. B., *Ch.*, 10161. Ilde of Albyon, *ib.*, 1745. The cape of Fynestere, *Ch.*, *Prol.*, 408. The toun of Athenes, *K. T.*, 115. The mount of Setheron, *ib.*, 1078.

It is worth notice that the first instance of the occurrence of this new construction bears with it a trace of its origin. The form Orcanie in the *AS. Ch.* is the Romance form as against the semi-Lat. Orcadus or the native Orcaneg. The construction is, of course, Romance. Instances of it are not unknown to Latin: Urbem Patavi, Virgil, *A.*, i. 247. Asturæ flumen, Livy, viii. 13. &c. (Draeger, 'Hist. Syntax der latein. Sprache,' i. p. 466, § 202 (2nd ed.)). In Med. Latin this took the form *villam de Bertiniaca*, which became the general Romance construction (Stoltz-Schmalz, 'Latein. Grammatik,' 417, § 65). Terre de France, mult estes dulz païs, *Ch. de R.*, 1861. La terre d'Engleterre, *Ch. d. N.*, ii. 27940. Le païs de Vermendeis, *ib.*, ii. 18261. La duchée de Normandie, *ib.*, ii. 11311. Fieu de Normendie, *ib.*, ii. 28101. Le reaume de France, *ib.*, ii. 24473. L'ile d'Avalon, Wace, *Brut*, 9516. La cité de Rome, *Ch. d. N.*, i. 1300. La rivere de Somme, *ib.*, ii. 12272. Al flue de Ette, *ib.*, ii. 9321. L'eue de Gironde, *ib.*, ii. 4814. La cyte de Loundres, *Troie*, 23249. Le flum de Humere, *Livere de Reis*, p. 44.

The same history holds with the appositives of month. The native names of the month gave place in AS. to Latin names, used either alone: Ianuarius, *Menol.* (Fox), 19, Martius, *ib.*, 73, Maius, *ib.*, 155; or in apposition with monað: se sol-monað . . . Februarius, *ib.*, 31 ff.; monað . . . Iunius, *ib.*, 210 ff.; Aprelis monað, *ib.*, 112; Blotmonað . . . Nouembris, *ib.*, 387 f. The genitive is rare, if indeed this be not a variant analogical nom.: monað to tune Decembris, *ib.*, 436 f. The new MidE. usage, following the introduction of the OFr. names, is: the monthe of Aueril, R. G., *Ch.*, 506; the monþe of feuerer, *ib.*, 8238; þe monþ of June, *Liberus Des.*, 1303.

This imitates OFr.: Le mois de Mars, Berry, *Rec. de N.*, 239. Le meis d'Avril, *Troie*, 23249. El meis de Averil, Gaimar, 3247. Le mays de August, Pierre de L., i. p. 26, &c.

CHRONOLOGY. The influx of noun phrases is first noted in the appositive construction with *or*, which appears as early as the middle of the twelfth century; about a century later master-frequently replaces head- in compound nouns. The real flood of new phrasal nouns begins with the fourteenth century. From 1300 to 1350 we note the introduction of chief- for master-, month of, manner of, man of arms, man of law, man of price, brother-germain, brother-in-law, point of death, and the tautologies custom and use, hue and cry, lord and sire, los and price. The second half of the century extends these groups by man at arms, merchant of wool, and additional tautologies.

CONCLUSION. The establishment of Romance influence in nominal phrases as exemplified above seems warranted by the indisputable influence of master-, chief-, on the native habit of compounding with *héafod*, and by the direct translation of frère en loi, supplanting AS. *āðum*. The expression of the appositive relation by *or* is essentially a Romance, not a Teutonic construction. It is interesting to see, in the case of 'manner of,' what is abundantly illustrated elsewhere, that the foreign word tends to bring into the language that adopts it its own construction. The instances of conventional tautologies are part of those stylistic imitations of OFr. characterizing nearly all the fourteenth-century literature of MidE. The full history of these phrases would disprove what indeed the phrases here adduced suggest, that MidE. tautologies are a matter of style or of habit, not a conscious adjustment of language to the needs of speech in a bi-lingual people. (See Earle, *Philology*, pp. 84 ff., 5th ed., *contra*.)

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

It has been shown that OFr. exercised an extensive and powerful influence on the development of the meaning and phrasal uses of important MidE. verbs, at times to the detriment of the native idiom; that the same influence told in a characteristic feature of MidE. expression and style, the figurative negative, which, virtually unknown to AS., found its inspiration, form, and content in OFr.; that in subtle syntactical relations, as in the use of prepositions in adjectival and adverbial phrases, there was a marked growth of new constructions, accompanied by a modification or giving up of old constructions, all under the influence of OFr. syntax; that existing nominal compounds in MidE. were affected, formations on new types entered, conventional nominal phrases were borrowed or imitated, tautological phrases were naturalised, appositive relationship expressed by *or* in place-names, &c.—all after the example of OFr. usage. We must therefore conclude:—

1. That a great factor in the changes which distinguish MidE. from AS., and which persist as characteristics of Standard English in Chaucer—changes that affect the phraseology, idiom, syntax, style—is found to be the influence of OFr.

The attitude of modern scholarship may be represented by the sentence already quoted from Professor Körting: ‘Nur im Wortschatz ist das Englische halbfranzösisirt, im Uebrigen ist es germanisch geblieben, und wo es dennoch dem Französischen ähnlich geworden zu sein scheint . . . ist dies nicht die Folge einer Angleichung an das Französische, sondern erklärt sich durchaus befriedigend aus den der Sprache von jeher eigenen Entwickelungsneigungen.’ This, too, was the opinion of Scheibner: ‘Von einem directen Einflusse des Französischen auf das Englische wollen die meisten Philologen nichts wissen; nur Keane [‘Handbk. of the English Language,’ London, 1875] nimmt an, dass die Tendenz des Englischen, die Flexionsendungen abzuwerfen, durch die Berührungen mit der französischen Sprache theilweise bestimmt oder beeinflusst worden ist¹.’ With these we must class, perhaps, Kellner, though

¹ ‘Ueber die Herrschaft der französischen Sprache in England,’ p. 21. Annaberg, 1880.

his position is somewhat vaguely defined: 'The influence of French on *Syntax Proper* has been overrated. English syntax, in the main, is still Germanic, just as English sounds, inflexions, and word-formation are¹' This opinion we consider no longer tenable. Einenkel represents a sane recovery from the extreme negative view, which was itself a reaction from the rash generalisations of Thommerel. 'Der Einfluss des Afrz. auf das Me. zeigt sich mittelbar in einer Beschleunigung des Triebes zur Analyse, unmittelbar in der Nachbildung zahlreicher, oft idiomatisch-romantischer Ausdrucksweisen²'

2. From the chronology of the changes it is made manifest that there is a law in the time of their appearance. These modifications, due to OFr. influence, show an almost imperceptible trace in the twelfth century, appear to a slight extent in the early years of the thirteenth century, gain slight ground during that century, but only in the first half of the fourteenth century do they manifest themselves in anything like the strength and fullness that characterize Standard English as against Early MidE. In this respect Einenkel's view is corroborated: 'Das 14. Jahrh. ist der Angelpunkt in der Entwicklung der engl. Syntax³' Hence:—

3. These changes are in essential respects in effective strength before the time of Chaucer and Wycliffe, who must be regarded as masters and not creators of their language. In this respect Morsbach's view, gained by an examination of the phonology and inflexion of London documents, is upheld: 'Sie (die neueng. Schriftspr.) ist weder von Wyclif noch von Chaucer geschaffen⁴'

4. These changes, as respects chronology, are parallel with the growth of the French elements in the vocabulary of MidE., as stated by Morris, Sturmels, and others. 'Die Ausbeute aus den me. Denkmälern des 12. und der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jh. fällt spärlich aus . . . Eine grössere Aufname afr. Wörter fand erst in der von Scheibner richtig als Zeit der Gallomanie charakterisierten Periode nach der Mitte des 13. Jh. (von Eduard I. ab) statt⁵'

¹ 'Historical Outlines of English Syntax,' p. 308.

² 'Paul's Grundriss der ger. Philologie,' i. p. 907.

³ *Ib.*, p. 930.

⁴ 'Ueber den Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache,' p. 168.

⁵ Sturmels, 'Afr. Vokalismus im Mittelenglischen,' pp. 9 ff.

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